

THE METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—THE FIRST CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN METHODISM.

ABOUT a hundred and fifty years ago, a colony of Germans from the Palatinate emigrated from their fatherland and settled upon the rich and fertile lands of the county of Limerick, in the west of Ireland. Their descendants are still called Palatines; and although they have long since lost the language of their ancestors, yet they have not lost their German character for industry, thrift, and honourable dealing. They are among the most wealthy and prosperous farmers of the country.

When Mr. Wesley and his lay "helpers" found their way into that part of the country, about the middle of the last century, these Palatines were among the first to receive the doctrines which they preached, and to experience their wondrous and transforming power. Among them was a youth by the name of Philip Embury, who records his conversion in the following language:—"On Christmas day, being Monday, the 25th of December, in the year 1752, the Lord shone into my soul, by a glimpse of his redeeming love, being the earnest of my redemption in Christ Jesus, to whom be glory forever and ever, Amen." Mr. Wesley was in the county of Limerick in August, 1752; but whether he was immediately and directly instrumental in the happy change of Philip Embury, we have now no means of knowing; but they were personally acquainted with each other.

Between the accession of the house of Hanover in 1714, and the war of Independence, a very large number of Protestants from the north and west of Ireland emigrated to this country, and settled in the southern part of New-Hampshire, in western Massachusetts, in the city of New-York, in New-Jersey, in the western part of Pennsylvania, in the Great Valley of Virginia, and in the rich parts of

North and South Carolina, especially upon the Yadkin and Catawba. These valuable emigrants soon became an element of great force in the polyglot population of the colonies; and entering with characteristic spirit into the struggle for our national independence, they furnished the American army some distinguished commanders, among which were Sullivan and Stark. President Jackson, who was born on the Waxhaw Creek, N. C., in 1765, was of this race. But the influence of this class of emigrants upon our political character and destiny is greatly overshadowed by another historical fact of far greater significance and importance. Two of the most numerous and powerful religious bodies in the United States arose chiefly out of this emigration—the Methodist Episcopal and the Presbyterian Churches. The Presbyterian Church was everywhere planted by these emigrants; the celebrated Tennent family, who were among its earliest pioneers, having come over about 1718. The origin of the Methodist Episcopal Church was on this wise:—

Among those who settled in New-York, about 1765, was Mr. Embury, before mentioned, who had now become a local preacher. This must have been previous to September of that year, as he had a son born to him on the 24th of that month in John-street in that city. Several other Irish Methodists also emigrated about the same time; but finding none of the same profession, and being as sheep without a shepherd, some of them soon wandered from God; and so far did they depart from their duty, as to indulge in the frivolous and sinful amusements of the world.

But they were soon to return to their duty and to their God, and to be the humble pioneers of a mighty and glorious work on this continent. Among these emigrants was a pious family by the name of Hick, from Ballingrane. One evening the mother* of this family went into a company of these backslidden Methodists, of whom Mr. Embury was one, and finding them engaged in card-playing, she immediately seized the pack and indignantly threw it into the fire. Then turning to Mr. Embury, she exclaimed, "Brother Embury, you must preach to us, or we shall all go to hell, and God will require our blood at your hands." Alarmed and astonished at this earnest and unexpected reproof, and willing to say something to justify himself, Mr. Embury replied, "How can I preach, for I

* This "elect lady," whose maiden name was Barbara Ruckle, before her emigration to America lived in a house opposite the present Methodist Chapel in Ballingrane. The house is not now standing; but members of the family still survive in that place, and her descendants, "to the third and fourth generation," are yet found in the Methodist churches in New-York.

have neither a house nor a congregation?" "Preach in your own house, and to our own company first," was the ready reply. To this reasonable proposition he consented. An appointment was accordingly made, and Philip Embury preached the first Methodist sermon on this continent, in his own house, to five persons only. He soon formed a class consisting mostly of his own countrymen, the German Irish. This was in the latter part of 1766. About the close of the year they were joined by two brethren by the name of Louse and White, from Dublin. They now began to take courage in their new enterprise.

Soon a private house became too strait for the infant congregation, and encouraged by their success they rented a room in the most infamous part of the city—near the barracks—invading the very precincts of the powers of darkness, and making war upon ignorance and vice within their own domain. One day, while engaged in worship in this obscure temple, supposing themselves

"Little and unknown,
Loved and prized by God alone,"

the humble worshippers were amazed and even somewhat alarmed by the appearance, in their midst, of a stately and dignified figure in the uniform of a British officer. They feared insult and molestation. But they soon observed that he knelt with them in prayer, and were also further gratified and surprised to see that he demeaned himself with the most reverent propriety. He immediately made himself known to them. It was Captain Thomas Webb. He had been a lieutenant under the gallant and impetuous Wolfe at the capture of Quebec in 1759, where he had lost his right eye, and had been wounded in the arm. About the year 1765, after great internal struggles and much mental distress, in which he almost despaired of the divine mercy, he was happily converted to God, and joined the Methodist society under Mr. Wesley. It was not long before he made his first attempt as a public speaker, in Bath, England. The congregation with which he was waiting being disappointed of their preacher, he was called upon to address them, which he did with such acceptance, as soon to induct him into the office of a local preacher. Soon after this event, he was appointed barrack-master in Albany, in the province of New-York, whither he immediately removed with his family. Here, establishing "a Church in his own house," several of his neighbours desired permission to be present at his family worship, which was granted. To these he soon adopted the practice of addressing a word of exhortation; and thus Albany became one of the first scenes for the display of Wesleyan

zeal and devotion, although with no immediate results. Being in New-York, about this time, he heard of the little society under Mr. Embury, and in the true spirit of "a soldier of the cross," he was not ashamed of the great difference between their social position and his own, and sought them out. His first interview with them has been described. This event constituted an era in their progress.

Captain Webb now began to preach among them. The novelty of a man in regimentals with his sword and *chapeau* laid at his side preaching the Gospel of peace, immediately attracted crowds to hear. The preacher was a man who eminently united the more noble characteristics of the soldier with the *esprit du corps* of the religious body to which he belonged. His bluntness and earnest zeal, while he declared to his astonished auditors "that all their knowledge and religion were not worth a rush, except their sins were forgiven, and they had the witness of the Spirit with theirs, that they were the children of God," but increased the surprise and amazement of some, while others, more thoughtful and considerate, were led to seek this "pearl of great price," and to take the kingdom of heaven by violence."

Soon this place, also, was too small for them, and they began to look around for more ample accommodations. Presently they found a rigging loft, eighteen by sixty feet, not distinguished, indeed, by architectural proportions and adornment, but fully answering their immediate wants. It was at once fitted up for their reception, and thither the infant society repaired, thinking themselves truly happy in their unexpected enlargement. This building, thus identified with the early history of American Methodism, was recently standing, No. 120 William-street, an honoured memorial of the labours and successes of the past. Here Mr. Embury preached on Thursday evenings, and twice on the Sabbath; and here his humble auditors, in the glorious hope of finally worshipping in the great temple above, wept and prayed and sang and shouted, while God gave an increase both of grace and of members.

In the mean time Captain Webb removed to the neighborhood of Jamaica, Long Island, where his wife's relatives resided. Here he also commenced preaching, first in his own house, and then in various other places. In the course of six months twenty-four were converted to God, about one-half of whom were coloured people. Persons of this unfortunate race were also among the "first-fruits" of Wesleyan labours in the city of New-York.

While Captain Webb, to use his own language, was thus engaged "in felling trees on Long Island," the little society in New-York, finding even the Rigging Loft not half large enough to accommodate

the multitudes that attended the preaching, seriously began to think of erecting a place of worship. But serious and formidable difficulties presented themselves in the very outset. At this time there were but two classes in the society, one of men and one of women, and of these there was but one person of property besides Captain Webb, viz., a Mr. Lupton. In this emergency, they at once betook themselves to God by prayer and fasting for his direction. While thus engaged, Mrs. Hick, the lady before mentioned, received an answer, attended with great sweetness and power, "I the Lord will do it;" while at the same time a plan of action was suggested to her mind, which, upon being presented to the society for their consideration, was adopted. Lots were accordingly purchased, and arrangements made to build. At this stage of their progress one of the society thus wrote to Mr. Wesley:—

"We had some consultations how to remedy this inconvenience, and Mr. Embury proposed renting a small lot of ground for twenty-one years, and to exert our utmost endeavours to build a wooden tabernacle; a piece of ground was proposed; the ground-rent was agreed for, and the lease was to be executed in a few days. We, however, in the mean time, had two several days for fasting and prayer, for the direction of God and his blessing on our proceedings; and Providence opened such a door as we had no expectation of. A young man, a sincere Christian and constant hearer, though not joined in society, not giving anything toward this house, offered ten pounds to buy a lot of ground, went of his own accord to a lady who had two lots to sell, on one of which there is a house that rents for eighteen pounds per annum. He found the purchase-money of the two lots was six hundred pounds, which she was willing should remain in the purchaser's possession, on good security. We called once more on God for his direction, and resolved to purchase the whole. There are eight of us who are joint-purchasers: among whom Mr. Webb and Mr. Lupton are men of property. I was determined the house should be on the same footing as the orphan house at New-Castle, and others in England; but as we were ignorant how to draw the deeds, we purchased for us and our heirs, until a copy of the writing is sent us from England, which we desire may be sent by the first opportunity.

"Before we began to talk of building, the devil and his children were very peaceable; but since this affair took place, many ministers have cursed us in the name of the Lord, and laboured with all their might to stop their congregations from assisting us. But He that sitteth in the highest laughed them to scorn. Many have broken through, and given their friendly assistance. We have collected above one hundred pounds more than our own contributions, and have reason to hope in the whole we shall have two hundred pounds: but the house will cost us four hundred pounds more; so that unless God is pleased to raise up friends we shall yet be at a loss. I believe Mr. Webb and Mr. Lupton will borrow or advance two hundred pounds, rather than the building should not go forward; but the interest of money here is a great burden—being seven per cent. Some of our brethren proposed writing to you for a collection in England: but I was averse to this, as I well know our friends there are overburdened already. Yet so far I would earnestly beg: if you would intimate our circumstances to particular persons of ability, perhaps God would open their hearts to assist this infant society, and contribute to the first preaching-house on the original Methodist plan in all America."

These lots were situated in John-street, in what was then the upper part of the city, and in a neighbourhood then called Golden Hill. Here they erected a plain stone chapel, sixty feet in length by forty-two in width, two stories in height, and with galleries on three sides. In order to evade a law of the province in relation to the erection of such houses of worship, it was supplied with fire-places, like a dwelling-house. Mr. Embury, who was a house-carpenter by occupation, built the pulpit, and did the joiner-work with his own hands; and on the 30th of October, 1768, he also consecrated it by a sermon from Hosea x, 12: "Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy; break up your fallow ground: for it is time to seek the Lord, till he come and rain righteousness upon you." With characteristic plainness, he declared, that "the best consecration of a pulpit was to preach a good sermon in it." Thus was built, by a feeble band, the first Methodist church on this continent. In honour of the venerable founder of Methodism it was called Wesley Chapel. It was seated with benches, and remained in an unfinished state for several years. It stood until its two little classes had increased to 225,000, and filled the land in its length and breadth, and the place of their humble pastor, with his saw and hammer, was supplied by some 1,560 local and travelling preachers. This chapel, after having stood almost half a century, was finally taken down in 1817, to give place to a more ample and imposing structure, which also, in its turn, upon some improvements being made in that portion of the city, gave place to a third edifice about the year 1840.

About the time of the formation of the society in New-York, Mr. Robert Strawbridge, also a local preacher from Ireland, settled on Pipe Creek in Frederick, now Carroll County, in the northern part of Maryland. Like Embury and Captain Webb, he first began to preach in his own house; and such was his success, that he soon formed a very respectable society, and built a chapel, called the Log Meeting-House. Some have asserted that this log meeting-house on Pipe Creek was built as early, if not earlier, than Wesley Chapel, in New-York; and hence have been ready to claim for it the honour of being the first erected on this continent. But as this claim has never been properly authenticated by reference to unimpeachable authorities, it cannot be admitted. It is to be extremely regretted, however, that there is no authentic account of the precise time of the formation of the Pipe Creek Society, and of the erection of its meeting-house, with the particulars respecting them. But we know not that Mr. Strawbridge himself ever wrote anything whatever for the public eye; and those who might have ascertained the facts, neglected to do so, at the time, and have now passed away: so that

we have now no means whatever of ascertaining the precise truth in the case.*

Hence also we have but very little information respecting Mr. Strawbridge himself, whose labours, it is well known, contributed largely to the establishment of Methodism in the United States. When and where he was born; when he was converted to God, and joined the Wesleyan Society; the precise time in which he arrived in this country; where he first landed; and when and where he died, are to us now wholly unknown. He was, however, a zealous and active preacher. He extended his pious and successful labours through various parts of Maryland, on both shores, and also into Virginia. Upon the arrival of the regular itinerant missionaries in America, he connected his labours, which, at first, were conducted wholly on his own responsibility, with theirs. His name appears on the Minutes for 1773 and 1775; after which this earliest pioneer of American Methodism, except Embury, seems to have reverted to his former position as a local preacher, and finally disappears from our view; and "his burying-place," like that of Moses, is probably "not known to Israel to this day."

Methodism was also introduced into Philadelphia about this time, probably by the labours of Captain Webb, who formed a flourishing society, which soon amounted to one hundred members. Here the first conference in America was subsequently held. From what we can gather from the Journals of Mr. Asbury and from the incidental remarks of contemporaries, this society in Philadelphia seems to have been distinguished for its pious and excellent character.

Thus, by the labours of three local preachers, one of whom was a captain in the royal service, one a house-carpenter, and the other, probably, a farmer, was Methodism firmly established, by the formation of permanent societies, in three of the principal colonies, and had also, probably, been preached in two others, before a regular itinerant had set his foot upon our soil.

But the pressing exigencies of the work now demanded the presence and labour of men wholly devoted to its promotion. Accordingly, as soon as the little society in New-York had purchased the lots in John-street, and resolved to build a chapel thereon, one of their members, in a letter before quoted under date of April 11th, 1768, thus writes to Mr. Wesley:—

* Although there is no proof that the Log Meeting-House at Pipe Creek was older than Wesley Chapel in New-York, yet there is positive proof that the Pipe Creek Society was formed before that in New-York, and thus, in point of time, takes the precedence of all others. See Asbury's Journals, vol. iii, p. 24, new edition.

"There is another point far more material, and in which I must importune your assistance, not only in my own name, but also in the name of the whole society. We want an able and experienced preacher; one who has both gifts and grace necessary for the work. God has not, indeed, despised the day of small things. There is a real work of grace begun in many hearts, by the preaching of Mr. Webb and Mr. Embury; but although they are both useful, and their hearts in the work, they want many qualifications for such an undertaking; and the progress of the Gospel here depends much upon the qualifications of preachers.

"In regard to a preacher, if possible we must have a man of wisdom, of sound faith, and a good disciplinarian; one whose heart and soul are in the work; and I doubt not but by the goodness of God such a flame will be soon kindled as would never stop until it reached the great South Sea. We may make many shifts to evade temporal inconveniences; but we cannot purchase such a preacher as I have described. Dear sir, I entreat you, for the good of thousands, to use your utmost endeavours to send one over."

For some reason, Mr. Wesley did not attend even to this most forcible and importunate appeal. More than a year elapsed before it was definitely answered, during which the request of Mr. Embury was added to that of this writer. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, under date of 1769, Mr. Wesley says:—

"Tuesday, August 1. Our conference began at Leeds. On Thursday, I mentioned the case of our brethren in New-York. For some years past, several of our brethren from England and Ireland (and some of them preachers) had settled in North America, and had in various places formed societies, particularly in Philadelphia and New-York. The society in New-York had lately built a commodious preaching-house, and now desired our help; being in great want of money, but much more of preachers. Two of the preachers, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pillmore, willingly offered themselves for this service, by whom we determined to send over fifty pounds, as a token of our brotherly love.*

Mr. Boardman had joined the travelling connexion in 1763, and Mr. Pillmore in 1765. Both, therefore, were very recently in the work. But they were men of good sense and ardent piety, of adequate talents as preachers, and truly and earnestly devoted to the important work of the ministry. But as an almost necessary consequence of the want of longer experience, they were not good disciplinarians, and, therefore, not so well qualified for government.

They seem to have lost no time, after the close of the conference, at which they received their appointments as the first Wesleyan missionaries to the new world, in making all needful preparations for their voyage across the Atlantic, and in hastening to enter upon the work to which they had devoted themselves. They sailed about the latter part of August, and after an inclement and tedious passage of nine weeks, they landed at Gloucester Point, six miles below Philadelphia, on the 24th of October. At the end of a week after

* Wesley's Works, vol. vii, p. 388.

their arrival, Mr. Pillmore addressed the following letter to Mr. Wesley:—

“PHILADELPHIA, *October 31st, 1769.*

“REVEREND SIR,—By the blessing of God we are safe arrived here, after a tedious passage of nine weeks. We were not a little surprised to find Captain Webb in town, with a society of about a hundred members, who desire to be in close connexion with you. This is the Lord’s doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

“I have preached several times, and the people flock to hear in multitudes. Sunday night I went out upon the common. I had the stage appointed for the horse-race for my pulpit, and, I think, between four and five thousand hearers, who heard with attention still as night. Blessed be God for field-preaching! When I began to talk of preaching at five o’clock in the morning, the people thought it would not answer in America. However, I resolved to try, and had a very good congregation. There seems to be a great and effectual door opening in this country, and I hope many souls will be gathered in. The people in general like to hear the word, and seem to have some ideas of salvation by grace. They seem to set light to opinions. That which is the most prevalent is, ‘universal salvation.’ And if this be true, then, perhaps, (as Count Zinzendorf observed,) ‘we may see the devil falling before the Saviour, and kissing his feet.’ I have been to visit Mr. Stringer, who is well. He bears a noble testimony for our blessed Jesus; and I hope God does bless him.

“When I parted with you at Leeds, I found it very hard work. I have reason to bless God, that I ever saw your face. And though I am well nigh four thousand miles from you, I have an inward fellowship with your spirit. Even while I am writing, my heart flows with love to you, and all our dear friends at home. In a little time we shall all meet in our Father’s kingdom,

‘Where all the storms of life are o’er,
And pain and parting are no more.’

“This, reverend and dear sir, is and shall be the earnest prayer of your unworthy son in the Gospel,
J. PILLMORE.”

Mr. Boardman, soon after his arrival, set out for New-York, to take charge of the society in that place, from whence he thus writes to Mr. Wesley:—

“NEW-YORK, *November 4th, 1769.*

“REVEREND SIR,—After a nine weeks’ voyage of great difficulties, we safely arrived at Philadelphia. Several said there had not, in the memory of the oldest man on the continent, been such hard gales of wind as for these few months past. Many vessels have been lost, while others got in with loss of masts, and much damage to their cargoes. We observed shipwrecks all along the coast of the Delaware. I never understood David’s words as I now do: ‘They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters; these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep.’ In calm, serene weather, I found much exercise of mind—strong temptations, and great dejection; in rough, stormy weather, when it appeared morally impossible the vessel should live long, amid conflicting elements, I found myself exceeding happy, and rested satisfied that death would be gain. I do not remember to have had one doubt of being eternally saved, should the mighty waters swallow us up. This was the Lord’s doing. O, may it ever be marvellous in my eyes

"When I came to Philadelphia, I found a little society, and preached to a great number of people. I left brother Pillmore there, and set out for New-York. Coming to a large town on my way, and seeing a barrack, I asked a soldier if there were any Methodists belonging to it? 'O yes,' said he, 'we are all Methodists: that is, we should all be glad to hear a Methodist preach.' 'Well,' said I, 'tell them in the barrack, that a Methodist preacher, just come from England, intends to preach here to-night.' He did so, and the inn was surrounded with soldiers. I asked, 'Where do you think I can get a place to preach in?' (it being then dark.) One of them said, 'I will go and see, if I can get the Presbyterian meeting-house.' He did so; and soon returned to tell me he had prevailed, and that the bell was just going to ring, to let all the town know. A great company soon got together, and seemed much affected.

"The next day, I came to New-York. Our house contains about seventeen hundred hearers.* About a third part of those who attend the preaching, get in; the rest are glad to hear without. There appears such a willingness in the Americans to hear the word, as I never saw before. They have no preaching in some parts of the back settlements. I doubt not, but an effectual door will be opened among them. O, may He now give his Son the heathen for his inheritance.

"The number of blacks that attend the preaching affects me much. One of them came to tell me, she could neither eat nor sleep, because her master would not suffer her to come to hear the word. She wept exceedingly, saying, 'I told my master I would do more work than I used to do, if he would but let me come; nay, that I would do everything in my power to be a good servant.'

"I find a great want of every gift and grace for the great work before me. I should be glad of your advice. But, dear sir, what shall I say to almost everybody I see? They ask, 'Does Mr. Wesley think that he shall ever come over to see us?'

"I am, dear sir, your affectionate son and servant,

"R. BOARDMAN."

In accordance with the usages of the society, Mr. Pillmore presently changed places with Mr. Boardman at New-York, from whence he sends the following epistle "To the Rev. J. Wesley and all the Brethren in Conference:"—

"NEW-YORK, May 5th, 1770.

"DEAR BELOVED BRETHREN,—As it has pleased God to send us, his poor unworthy creatures, into this remote corner of the world, to preach his everlasting Gospel, I trust you will bear us on your minds, and help us by your prayers to fulfil the ministry which we have received of the Lord. We are at present far from you; and whether we shall ever be permitted to see you

* This is a mistake. It would not hold more than a third of that number. Mr. Whitefield sometimes commits similar errors. In one place he speaks of preaching to "five or six thousand" in the Old South Church in Boston. This ancient church is yet standing, and modern slips have since been substituted for its old-fashioned square pews, thereby increasing its capacity to accommodate a congregation; and it is found that it now contains but a few more than twelve hundred sittings! I am inclined to think, however, that this passage in Mr. Boardman's letter is a typographical error, and that the original read "seven" instead of "seventeen" hundred.

again in the body, God only knows. However, though we are absent from you, yet we are present with you; and I hope we shall continue so united, that

‘Neither joy, nor grief, nor time, nor place,
Nor life, nor death can part.’

It was a great trial to us to leave our native land, more especially to leave our fellow-labourers in the Gospel, who were more dear to us than all the beauties of the British isles. Dear brethren, I feel you present while I write. But O, the Atlantic is between. O, this state of trial—this state of mutability. But where am I wandering? This is not our home. This is not our rest. After a little while, we shall rest,

‘Where angels gather immortality,
And momentary ages are no more.’

Our coming to America has not been in vain. The Lord has been pleased to bless our feeble attempts to advance his kingdom in the world. Many have believed the report, and unto some the arm of the Lord has been revealed. There seems to be a shaking among the dry bones; and they come together, that God may breathe upon them. Our congregations are large, and we have the pious of most congregations to hear us, which makes the bigots mad. But we are fully determined not to retaliate. They may contend for that which God never revealed, and we will ‘contend for the faith once delivered to the saints.’ The religion of Jesus is a favourite topic in New-York. Many of the gay and polite speak much about grace and perseverance. But whether they would follow Christ, in ‘sheep-skins and goat-skins,’ is what I cannot affirm; nevertheless, there are some who are alive to God. Even some of the poor despised children of Ham are striving ‘to wash their robes and to make them white in the blood of the Lamb.’ We have a number of black women who meet together every week, many of whom are happy in the love of God. This evinces the truth of the apostle’s assertion, ‘that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him.’ The society here consists of about a hundred members, besides probationers; and I trust it will soon increase much more abundantly.

“Brother Boardman and I are chiefly confined to the cities, and, therefore, cannot at present go much into the country, as we have much more work upon our hands than we are able to perform. There is work enough for two preachers in each place; and if two of our brethren would come over, I believe it would be attended with a blessing, for then we could visit the places adjacent to the cities, which we cannot pretend to do, till we can take care of them. They need not be afraid of wanting the comforts of life, for the people are very hospitable and kind. When we came over, we put ourselves and the brethren to a great expense, being strangers to the country and people. But the case is now different, as matters are settled, and everything is provided. If you can send them over, we shall gladly provide for them. And I hope, in a few years, the brethren here will be able to send them back to England, according to the appointment of the conference. I am, dearly beloved brethren, yours inviolably,

J. PILLMORE.

“P. S. I have in general been pretty well since I arrived here, and I hope this climate will agree with me; but I have very great trials, and humbly desire that all the brethren would pray for me.”

Messrs. Boardman and Pillmore continued a regular interchange of labours between Philadelphia and New-York, which were much

blessed of the Lord, and of which the former again writes to Mr. Wesley:—

“NEW-YORK, *April 23, 1771.*

“REVEREND SIR,—It pleases God to carry on his work among us. Within this month we have had a great awakening here. Many begin to believe the report, and to some the arm of the Lord is revealed. This last month we have had near thirty added to the society; five of whom have received a clear sense of the pardoning love of God. We have in this city some of the best preachers, both in the English and Dutch Churches, that are in America; yet God works by whom he will work.

“I have lately been much comforted by the death of some poor negroes, who have gone off the stage of time, rejoicing in the God of their salvation. I asked one on the point of death, ‘Are you afraid to die?’ ‘O, no,’ said she, ‘I have my blessed Saviour in my heart. I should be glad to die. I want to be gone, that I may be with him forever. I know that he loves me, and I love him with all my heart.’ She continued to declare the great things God had done for her soul, to the astonishment of many, till the Lord took her to himself. Several more seem just ready to be gone, longing for the happy time when mortality shall be swallowed up of life.

“I bless God, I find, in general, my soul happy though much tried and tempted; and though I am often made to groan, oppressed with unbelief, yet I find an increasing degree of love to God, his people, and his ways. But I want more purity of intention to aim at his glory, in all I think, speak, or do. ‘Lord, I believe; help thou my unbelief.’

“We do not, dear sir, forget to pray for you, that God would lengthen out your days; nor can we help praying that you may see America before you die. Perhaps I have promised myself too much, when I have thought of this. ‘Lord, not my will, but thine be done.’ I am, dear sir, your affectionate son in the Gospel,
R. BOARDMAN.”

Among the early pioneers of American Methodism, Robert Williams also deserves honourable mention. Like Embury and Strawbridge, he was also a local preacher from Ireland. About the time of the appointment of Messrs. Boardman and Pillmore, being desirous to emigrate to America, Mr. Wesley gave him a written license to labour under their direction in this country. Having made an engagement to sail in company with a friend by the name of Ashton, upon receiving intelligence that he was about to embark, being single and unencumbered with a family, and with no important business to settle, he immediately hastened to the place of embarkation, sold the horse on which he rode to pay his debts, and at once went on shipboard, depending upon his friend to pay his passage, who generously met the bill.

He probably landed in New-York, and before the arrival of the regular missionaries, as he was preaching in that city when Mr. Boardman arrived to take charge of the society in that place. He immediately departed to visit Mr. Pillmore, in Philadelphia, who encouraged him to devote himself exclusively to the work in America. This advice, which was followed, was productive of the most happy

consequences. He soon after went into Maryland and preached in several places, being the second Wesleyan preacher who laboured in that province in which Methodism, thus early introduced, has since assumed a position of so much influence and importance. He was also the pioneer of Methodism in Virginia, having first introduced it into Norfolk in the beginning of 1772. The year following he broke ground on the old Brunswick Circuit, where occurred the first general revival under the Methodists on this continent, and which had previously commenced under the labours of the Rev. Mr. Jarratt, with whom Mr. Williams coöperated as a most efficient and dilligent fellow-labourer. Mr. Jarratt, in a letter to Mr. Rankin, describes him as "a plain, artless, and indefatigable preacher." We shall hear more of him in the course of the history of American Methodism.

The name of John King also deserves a place in this list of worthies. He was from London, and arrived in this country at the close of 1769; but without any authority to preach. He soon after waited upon Mr. Pillmore in Philadelphia, and desired permission to exercise his gifts in the society. This Mr. Pillmore, not being then satisfied with his qualifications, declined to grant. But so desirous was he to proclaim the riches of free grace, that he appointed a meeting in the Potter's Field, upon his own responsibility. Some members of the society hearing him, upon this occasion, and being pleased with his promising appearance, desired Mr. Pillmore that he might be encouraged. After examination, he was permitted to preach a trial sermon; and as he appeared to be a young man of piety and zeal, and much engaged for God, he received permission from Mr. Pillmore to go down to Wilmington, Delaware, where Methodism had already been introduced, and to exhort among a few awakened persons who were earnestly seeking the Lord.

Subsequently he was sent into Maryland to labour in conjunction with Messrs. Strawbridge and Williams. It was about this time that Methodism was introduced into Baltimore, and a good work commenced in several other places. Mr. King was admitted afterward as a regular travelling preacher, and was a member of the first conference of 1773. He diligently laboured on various circuits in New-Jersey, Virginia, and North Carolina, till 1777, when in that dark period of our denominational, as well as national history, he located. He was a truly pious, zealous, and useful man, and so continued till his death, which occurred a few years since, at a very advanced age, in the vicinity of Raleigh, N. C. He was probably the only survivor, at the time of his decease, of all the preachers of ante-Revolutionary date. He is often mentioned by Bishop Asbury

in his Journals under the initials of J. K. He is the person to whom Mr. Wesley addressed that letter so often quoted, No. 308, Works, vol. vii, p. 13, and which I here insert:—

“NEAR LEEDS, July 28, 1775.

“MY DEAR BROTHER,—Always take advice or reproof as a favour: it is the surest mark of love.

“I advised you once, and you took it as an affront: nevertheless, I will do it once more.

“Scream no more, at the peril of your soul. God now warns you by me, whom he has set over you. Speak as earnestly as you can; but do not scream. Speak with all your heart; but with a moderate voice. It was said of our Lord, ‘He shall not cry:’ the word properly means, He shall not *scream*. Herein be a follower of me, as I am of Christ. I often speak loud; often vehemently; but I never scream; I never strain myself; I dare not: I know it would be a sin against God and my own soul. Perhaps one reason why that good man, Thomas Walsh, yea, and John Manners too, were in such grievous darkness before they died, was, because they shortened their own lives.

“O John, pray for an advisable and teachable temper! By nature you are very far from it: you are stubborn and headstrong. Your last letter was written in a very wrong spirit. If you cannot take advice from others, surely you might take it from
Your affectionate brother.”

Among those who prepared the way for the introduction and success of Methodism on this continent was the Rev. Devereux Jarratt. He was powerfully converted to God when a lad, while a student under that distinguished man and father of Presbyterianism in Virginia, President Davies, who was probably instrumental in this happy change. He subsequently resolved to devote himself to the work of the ministry, studied theology, went to England for orders, and was settled in the parish of Bath, in Dinwiddie County, Virginia. Some others, like the Rev. Mr. Stringer of Philadelphia, and Dr. McGaw, of Delaware, were friendly, and sometimes attended and assisted in the meetings of the Methodists; but Mr. Jarratt was the only one of all the colonial clergy, who, like Mr. Fletcher and some others in England, actively and extensively coöperated with the Methodists in their evangelical labours. Of his settlement in the ministry, and of the commencement of that great work of grace of which he was the chief and honoured instrument until the Methodist preachers came to his help, he gives the following account in a letter to Mr. Rankin, which was afterward transmitted to Mr. Wesley:—

“August 29, 1763, I was chosen rector of B., in the county of D., in Virginia. Ignorance of the things of God, profaneness, and irreligion, then prevailed among all ranks and degrees; so that I doubt if even the form of godliness was to be found in any one family of this large and populous parish. I was a stranger to the people; my doctrines were quite new to them, and were neither preached nor believed by any other clergyman, so far as I could learn, throughout the province.

"My first work was, to explain the depravity of our nature; our fall in Adam, and all the evils consequent thereon; the impossibility of being delivered from them by anything which we could do, and the necessity of a living faith in order to our obtaining help from God. While I continued to insist upon these truths, and on the absolute necessity of being born again, no small outcry was raised against this way, as well as against him that taught it. But by the help of God, I continued to witness the same to both small and great.

"The common people, however, frequented the church more constantly, and in larger numbers than usual. Some were affected at times, so as to drop a tear. But still, for a year or more, I perceived no lasting effect, only a few were not altogether so profane as before. I could discover no heart-felt convictions of sin, no deep or lasting impression of their lost estate. Indeed I have reason to believe that some have been a good deal alarmed at times. But they were shy of speaking to me (thinking it would be presumption) till their convictions wore off.

"But in the year 1765, the power of God was more sensibly felt by a few. These were constrained to apply to me, and inquire, 'What they must do to be saved?' And now I began to preach abroad, as well as in private houses; and to meet little companies in the evenings, and converse freely on divine things. I believe some were this year converted to God, and thenceforth the work of God went slowly on.

"The next year I became acquainted with Mr. M'R.,* rector of a neighbouring parish; and we joined hand in hand in the great work. He laboured much therein; and not in vain. A remarkable power attended his preaching, and many were truly converted to God, not only in his parish, but in other parts where he was called to labour.

"In the years 1770 and 1771 we had a more considerable outpouring of the Spirit, at a place in my parish called White Oak. It was here I first formed the people into a society; that they might strengthen and assist each other. The good effects of this were soon apparent. Convictions were deep and lasting; and not only knowledge, but faith, and love, and holiness, continually increased.

"In the year 1772 the revival was more considerable, and extended itself, in some places, for fifty or sixty miles around. It increased still more in the following year, and several sinners were truly converted to God. In the spring of 1774 it was more remarkable than ever. The word preached was attended with such energy, that many were pierced to the heart. Tears fell plentifully from the eyes of the hearers, and many were constrained to cry out. A goodly number were gathered in this year, both in my parish, and in many of the neighbouring counties. I formed several societies out of those who were convinced or converted; and I found it a happy means of building up those that had believed, and preventing the rest from losing their convictions.

"In the counties of Sussex, and in Brunswick, the work from the year 1773 was chiefly carried on by the labours of the people called Methodists. The first of them that appeared in these parts was Mr. Robert Williams, who, you know, was a plain, artless, indefatigable preacher of the Gospel. He was greatly blessed in detecting the hypocrite, razing false foundations, and stirring up believers to press after present salvation from the remains of sin. He came to my house in the month of March, in the year 1773.

"The next year others of his brethren came, who gathered many societies, both in this neighbourhood and in other places, as far as North Carolina. They now began to ride the circuit, and to take care of the societies already formed, which was rendered a happy means both of deepening, and spreading the work of God."†

* M'Roberts.

† Asbury's Journals, vol. i, pp. 158, 159.

And yet this extensive revival, thus commenced by an Episcopal clergyman, which continued with almost unabated power for more than twelve years, in which thousands of souls were transformed by the power of divine grace, and which was probably the only one which occurred in the whole history of the colonial Church in the Old Dominion, is not mentioned by Dr. Hawks in his history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia, although Mr. Jarratt himself often is. As the doctor was a most industrious collector of materials for his book, it is hardly possible that he was ignorant of it; and yet, while he mentions many comparatively trivial and unimportant matters, which are related with great particularity of detail, this great work is completely ignored.

The possessor of a name of still greater historical celebrity—that most eloquent and distinguished of modern preachers, the Rev. George Whitefield—by his most extensive and successful labours also did much to prepare the way of the Wesleyan Methodists on this continent. Landing on our shores in May, 1738, the very month that the Wesleys received justifying faith, (for he was actually in Christ before his teachers,) he crossed the wide Atlantic no less than thirteen times on his mission of love to the dwellers on this western continent. On several of these visits he travelled from Georgia to Maine, preaching to immense and enthusiastic multitudes, who were moved by his powerful appeals “as the trees of the wood are moved by a mighty wind.”

On the second of these visits, that of 1744, he remained in the country between three and four years. “The great awakening” was now at its height, and he was incessant and indefatigable in his labours. Although many, as elsewhere, “contradicted and blasphemed,” yet many also “received the word with joy.” Extraordinary success attended him. The abundant fruits of his most efficient labours were mostly garnered by the Puritans of New-England, and the Presbyterians of the middle colonies, by whom he was received as an angel of God, as indeed he was; and for which they received a rich reward.

Mr. Whitefield did not form any societies of his own in America. He was not here the founder of a sect. God seems not to have sent him to plant Churches, but simply “to preach the Gospel.” For the former he had no tact; but for the latter he possessed extraordinary qualifications; and well and truly did he perform the special work assigned him. In New-England, wherever the regular clergy (and this was the case with a party among them) did not coöperate with him and his friends in their labours, nor favour the work of which he was the chief promoter and representative, God raised up, as in

Europe, pious but illiterate preachers, by whom separate congregations were formed in several places, and who were thence called Separatists. These humble pastors with their flocks, as is usually the case, were generally opposed by their brethren. But they continued to hold up the torch of truth, and to maintain their testimony in favour of the new birth, until another people came to enforce this glorious doctrine with far greater ability, and with more abundant success.

The Baptists in this country are also largely indebted to the labours of Mr. Whitefield; for as they have always distinctly maintained the doctrine of the new birth, and have made it a requisite for baptism and admission to the Church, a part of these Separate congregations embraced their peculiarities and joined them in mass; and some of them remain in a flourishing state to this day. The stock, also, from which the Baptists in Virginia, now so numerous and influential, and in all the South, and from whence they have extended into the west and southwest, are of Whitefieldian descent.* The other principal branch of their family in the United States, the Freewill Baptists, had also the same origin, Benjamin Randall, their founder, and who formed their first Church in New-Durham, New-Hampshire, in 1780, but two years after Mr. Whitefield's death, being one of his converts.

Although Mr. Whitefield formed no Churches of his own, his herculean efforts were far from being lost. The labours of no one man, save those of Wesley alone, have exerted so mighty an influence upon the religious interests and destiny of these United States, as those of George Whitefield. His own biographers and friends seem not to be aware of the vast amount of good which he accomplished.

When the Methodist preachers came into New-England, nearly a quarter of a century after the death of Mr. Whitefield, they found some of these Separate Churches still in existence, by whom they were well received. A gentleman who was once a member of the Irish Conference under Mr. Wesley was induced to become the pastor of one of these Churches, over which he presided with great efficiency for nearly half a century. It is now one of the largest and most wealthy Congregationalist Churches in New-England; and out of it members have gone to assist in building up the Methodist Churches in the city in which it is located.†

Indeed, all who had heard Whitefield with affection, and especially those who had been blessed by his useful labours, in those cases in which they were not too strongly tinctured with Calvinism,

* Benedict's History of Baptists.

† The Benevolent Congregationalist Church, Providence, Rhode Island.

immediately recognised the peculiar doctrines which he preached, and especially the spirit by which he was actuated, in the teachings of the Methodists; and hence they generally received, and "heard them gladly." An illustration of this fact occurs in the Life of the Rev. F. Garrettson, p. 80, where, giving an account of his introduction to Methodism and the formation of a flourishing society in Quantico, Somerset County, on the eastern shore of Maryland, he says:—

"Old Mr. and Mrs. Rider, who were on a visit among their friends, heard me preach, and were much affected. After the congregation was dismissed, they advanced toward me in tears, and the old lady spoke as follows:—'Many years ago we heard Mr. Whitefield preach, and we were brought to taste the sweetness of religion. Till we heard you, we had not heard a Gospel sermon for about twenty years. The first time I heard you preach, I knew it was the truth, but I only had a little spark left. Yesterday we heard you again, and the little spark was blown up to a coal; and, glory to God! to-day the coal is blown up to a flame. We cannot hide ourselves any longer from you; our house and hearts are open to receive you and the blessed word you preach.' The dear old people seemed to see, feel, and think alike. I went to their house, and it appeared as if there were many in that vicinity just ripe for the Gospel. O! there was a sweet gathering to the fold of Jesus."

Thus did this indefatigable evangelist act as the mighty pioneer of the Methodists in the New World.

Soon after his arrival, upon his last visit to this country, he wrote the following pious letter, so characteristic of the man, to the Rev. C. Wesley. This is the last letter he ever wrote to Charles; and although he says in the postscript, "I hope to write to your honoured brother soon," yet it is presumable that it is the last he ever wrote to either of these distinguished brothers. It is dated from his orphan House:—

"BETHESDA, January 15th, 1770.

"MY VERY DEAR OLD FRIEND,—I wrote to your honoured brother, from on board ship. Since then what wonders have I seen! what innumerable mercies have I received! a long, trying, but, I hope, profitable passage. My poor, feeble labours are owned in Charlestown; and everything is more promising than in Georgia. The increase of this once-so-much despised colony is incredible. Good, I trust, is doing in Savannah, and Bethesda is like to blossom as a rose: the situation is most delightful, very salubrious, and everything excellently adapted for the intended purpose. All admire the goodness, strength and beauty of the late improvements. In a few months the intended plan, I hope, will be completed, and a solid, lasting foundation laid for the support and education of many, as yet unborn. Nothing is wanted but a judicious and moderately learned, single-hearted master. Surely the glorious Emmanuel will point out one in his own due time. Do pray. I am sure, prayers put up above thirty years ago are now answering; and I am persuaded, we shall yet see greater things than these. Who would have thought that such a worthless creature as this letter-writer should live to be fifty-five years old? I can only sit down and cry, 'What hath God wrought!' My

bodily health is much improved, and my soul is on the wing for a northern Gospel range."*

In this, which proved to be his last "Northern Gospel Range," he called upon Messrs. Boardman and Pillmore in Philadelphia, and expressing to them the great satisfaction which he felt in seeing the children of his old friend and fellow-labourer on this side of the Atlantic, he encouraged them to proceed in their work.

Having passed through the colonies, on his last northern tour, proclaiming to multitudes the riches of grace, in his usual manner, he was just on his return, when he preached his last sermon in Exeter, New-Hampshire, standing upon a hogshead near the meeting-house. His text was 2 Cor. xiii, 5: "Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith." He spoke with great animation and power; a fitting close for such a life. After the sermon, he rode to Newburyport, Massachusetts, where he was to preach the next day, and took lodgings with the Rev. Mr. Parsons, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in that ancient town. On the road, he complained of an attack of the asthma, to which he was subject; "but," said he, "another pulpit sweat or two will cure me." But, alas! this master of assemblies was to take no more pulpit-sweats. In the course of the night the attack so increased in violence as to occasion great distress, and compel him to rise and approach a window for the sake of fresh air. His friend and travelling companion, Mr. Smith, also rose to assist him. All the usual appliances for this painful disease were employed, but without effect. His last foe was marching upon him apace, and this veteran "soldier of the cross," this hero of a thousand battles, prepared to meet him with becoming dignity and resolution. Presuming that his end was approaching, he now broke forth in fervent prayer for the whole world in general, and for his Orphan House, in Georgia, in particular, for the support of which he had made such great exertions, both in Europe and America, and the destitute and helpless occupants of which were ever near his heart; and then, withal, requested that if his work was now done on earth, the Lord would be pleased to take him to himself. Then falling into the arms of his attendant, he peacefully breathed out his last, September 30th, 1770, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his ministry—yet comparatively young in years, but aged in labours and in usefulness. The next day, which was the Sabbath, the country people came pouring into town for the purpose of again listening to this most eloquent of preachers. But that mighty and quickening voice, to the music of which they had so often listened with profit and delight, and which had been the instrument of

* Jackson's Life of C. Wesley, pp. 619, 620.

salvation to so many thousands, in both hemispheres, was now hushed in death; and in silent grief and amazement the multitudes returned to their homes, and the church was shrouded in mourning, that one of her mightiest champions had fallen. In accordance with his request, that his early friend should perform this service for him, Mr. Wesley preached his funeral sermon in Mr. Whitefield's two chapels in London, on the 18th of the following November, from Num. xxiii, 10: "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

The First Presbyterian Church in Newburyport was formed as one of the results of Mr. Whitefield's labours, during some of his earliest visits to this country, and their meeting-house, a large structure which is yet standing, was erected in 1756. He had so often enjoyed such glorious divine manifestations while preaching in that house, that several years before his death he told his friends, that if he should die in that part of the world, he wished to be buried under its pulpit. His Newburyport friends remembered this request, so agreeable to their own feelings, and now had it in their power to grant it. Accordingly, although the people of Boston, where he had preached to overflowing audiences, and among whom he was immensely popular, requested the privilege of having his dust rest with them, they were refused; they prepared a vault under the pulpit where they laid him. His friend, the Rev. Mr. Parsons, at whose house he died, and also a subsequent pastor of the Church, the Rev. Mr. Prince, who was a blind preacher, when dying, requested to be laid by his side, which was done; and the three now sleep together in peace. The Rev. Jesse Lee, who visited the tomb about the year 1791, says that the process of putrefaction had then even scarcely commenced, and that the flesh was quite firm and hard. This is now no longer the case, however. When I visited it in 1833 it was quite decayed, and one of the arm bones had been abstracted by some sacrilegious relic hunter.

This church, thus identified with the history of a great man, and a name distinguished in ecclesiastical annals, stands on the corner of Federal and School-streets, and the parsonage in which he died, and which is also yet standing, is but a few rods distant in the former street. A few years since, this ancient church was remodelled inside, and the pulpit, together with the vault beneath, were removed from the side, where they formerly stood, after the fashion of the old New-England meeting-houses, to the end of the church. A beautiful marble cenotaph, at an expense of \$1200, was erected on the right of the pulpit, by William Bartlett, Esq., a wealthy merchant of Newburyport, and the great benefactor of the Andover Theological School.

ART. II.—GERMAN GYMNASIA AND ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

[MODIFIED FROM JAHN'S JAHRBÜCHER.]

IN the following paper we propose to invite the attention of our readers to a few observations upon the higher schools of two countries, where education has engrossed greater attention and patronage than throughout the world besides, and where the relative merits of every feasible system have been tested by a large and varied experience. England, with her five hundred public schools, endowed, for the most part, by the munificent liberality of her sovereigns or of private individuals, and Germany, with the generous rivalry of its governments in the establishment, protection, and regulation of the higher institutions of learning, are, notwithstanding the besotted ignorance of vast masses of their respective populations, more richly provided with the means of contributing to the true philosophy of education, than perhaps any or all other nations; and it is to their methods and institutions all must appeal, who, in any country, are honestly intent upon the improvement of existing systems of public education. Among the Germans, more particularly, the dictum of Plato, that "man cannot propose a higher and nobler object for his study than education, and all that appertains thereto," has obtained universal recognition, and their pedagogical knowledge and activity are certainly without parallel in the ancient or modern history of mankind. Distinguished instructors have been repeatedly sent forth at the public expense to travel in other lands, for the purpose of obtaining information respecting the organization of schools, and to investigate the merits of every foreign educational method.

For many years, in dealing with the most important questions of practical and social life, the Germans have been avowedly in the habit of directing special attention to a country, whose inhabitants, like their own swift ships, have noiselessly and steadily pursued the track observed for centuries; while others, with comparatively feeble craft, the sport of winds and currents, have been blown further and further from the goal of their wishes and exertions, to be driven at last, far from their reckoning, on to one-knows-not-what barbaric shore. England, who, with her fleets, as Rome formerly with her legions, sways the destinies of more than half the world, has remained unshaken and unperturbed amidst those violent convulsions which, during the last seven years, have caused the entire continent of Europe to tremble. In spite of her enormous proletariat, and the

extreme sensitiveness of her great industrial interests, which could not be unaffected by the feverish commotions and agitations of the rest of Europe, no threatening word has been uttered, no violent arm uplifted for the purpose of hastily or illegally redressing the multi-form and deep ailments, under which society even there is languishing. A people so prominent by commercial activity, political eminence and literature, may well attract the deep interest of the intelligent and thoughtful in other lands, more particularly to those institutions which, from their especial office of calling forth and maintaining the higher mental culture, contribute more than all besides to the power and influence of a nation. As among the Germans, those who administer high political functions, or exert direct influence upon the government, have obtained their education almost without exception at the gymnasium and the university; so in England the queen's ministers, the peers, the officials, the bishops, clergy, and all who in parliament or out of it lay claim to high cultivation, are indebted for the possession of it to the public schools and universities. Since, then, the influence exerted by these establishments upon English civilization cannot be unimportant, and since under all imaginable circumstances the school not merely receives a bias from the world without, but also in its turn gives impulse and direction to the varied activities of life, it must certainly be profitable to obtain an accurate knowledge of the higher educational institutions of a country which it has become of late the fashion to describe as, *par excellence*, "the land of hereditary wisdom."

This task has been executed in a manner and to an extent that leaves little to be desired by an intelligent and accomplished German scholar, (Dr. Wiese,) who was commissioned in the summer of 1851 to proceed to England for the purpose of investigating the mechanism and actual performances of education there, and who has recently published the results of his observations in a highly instructive volume, entitled, "*Briefe über die Englische Erziehung.*" On the other hand, we have long been favoured in M. Victor Cousin's celebrated "*Rapport sur l'état de l'Instruction Publique dans quelques pays de l'Allemagne, et particulièrement en Prusse,*" with a detailed and lucid exposition of German education, from the elementary schools up to the universities, which, during a lengthened residence in Germany, the author enjoyed the most favourable opportunities of studying in all its bearings and departments. Both works are eminently deserving consideration, no less from the celebrity of their writers, than the impartiality of their judgments. While, then, it is one object of this paper to direct attention to their statements, it would seem instructive, and at the same time consistent with the end we have more immediately in view, to com-

pare the internal organization of the German gymnasia with that of the corresponding English public schools somewhat more fully than has been done in the letters, to which we owe our principal materials. In the execution of our design, we shall confine ourselves almost exclusively to a consideration of the end, the method, the subjects of instruction, and the discipline of the higher English, as contrasted with those of the German learned schools.

Amidst considerable diversity of detail, the end proposed by the public schools of England is essentially the same. Their design is to impart a liberal education, and so far is identical with that of the German gymnasia, from which, however, they differ in this respect, that the state has ordained the scope and purpose of the latter, and made them principally establishments for the education of such scholars as are destined to the learned professions or official employment, even in the case of those who have no intention of pursuing a higher and more strictly scientific course of study. In England a different system prevails. There the school is entirely unconnected with the state, and no claim or title to public preferment can be achieved by repairing to a public school or one of the national universities, and by obtaining honours at the examinations instituted at the latter. What is sought in entering these establishments is simply such an education as will enable the recipient to assume in future years, with respect more particularly to all that concerns his character and personal relations, the status of a *gentleman*. In pursuing this aim less labour is bestowed upon the acquisition of positive accomplishments or a scientific spirit, than upon vigorously exercising the mental powers, and communicating the ability to take a manly and independent position in society and calling. Not so much knowledge, as capability and conduct are sought to be imparted. For this reason the instruction given is exceedingly circumscribed, being limited in fact to what is thought best adapted to impart correct views and fixed principles, in the confident expectation that thoroughness in a few subjects, and the mental self-possession which this engenders, will confer upon the pupil in years of riper development and emancipation from control, the ability to comprehend and appreciate, as they may deserve, whatever subjects he may voluntarily select as the object of pursuit. By thus simplifying and cutting down the subjects of instruction, the danger to which the Germans are exposed of overburdening, unduly stimulating, and failing to concentrate the scholar's intellectual energies, is altogether avoided. The practice of compelling the young gymnasiast to devote his industry and attention to the successive preparation and recitation of from four to six lessons upon different sub-

jects must of necessity distract and weaken the mental force to a far greater extent than can happen in England, where the Bible, Greek, Latin, and mathematics, constitute the whole routine of study, and are considered sufficient to call forth that amount of intellectual effort which is requisite to the proper discipline of the mind and character.

With the foregoing exposition of the end they keep in view, the method pursued in the English schools entirely coincides. In the majority, instruction is continued for one hour and twenty minutes upon the same topic, and kindred studies are taken in rotation; the intermediate hours being appropriated to recreation, repetition, and the labor of preparation. In no single day are more than four, and in the same week, than eighteen hours, devoted to class exercises. The pupil is in this way led to acquire the habit of studying *privatim*, and in connexion therewith works daily during certain hours with his private tutor. The chief business of the teachers officially connected with the school consists in examining the boys upon the lessons previously given out, and in prescribing new ones. This is done in a large hall, in which usually all the classes are assembled; but if a teacher prefers to conduct the recitations of his pupils in a more private manner, he can be separated from the rest by a screen. The head-master, from an elevated desk or seat, overlooks all the classes. From these arrangements it is apparent that the mental labour of the boys is performed to a much greater extent at their private lodgings than in class. What is done in the latter relates to the more definite results of study. To a plain question a clear and accurate answer is expected, whereby necessity is laid upon the pupil, in reading, for example, a chapter of history, not to throw away his industry upon vague and round-about effort to apprehend the subject in its more general relations, but in the first instance at all events to concentrate his diligence upon a more specific aim. Wiese remarks that this system is pushed to such an extent as to become mechanical, and is so tenaciously adhered to as to induce the teacher studiously to avoid that æsthetical treatment of the subject of the lesson, which would give it attractiveness and grace. This, in his estimation, would be far too vague and treacherous a mode of dealing with the work in hand; he does not wish to make labour too interesting, and, on many occasions, gives deliberate preference to dry details, in order that by forcing the mind to dwell upon these, the important habit of patiently persevering under difficulties may be gained. Dry, too, are their sylloges or abstracts, without which scarcely any branch of learning is pursued. Their contents must be mechanically committed to memory; and whether

they are understood or not, is in their estimation almost a matter of indifference. The ability to comprehend what is thus acquired, they imagine will be gained at a subsequent period. In all this it is clear, that no effort is made to awaken, and, indeed, that little value is attached to that passionate eagerness for knowledge which the Germans desiderate in their scholars, or, at any rate, in those belonging to the upper classes. No inspiration is attempted to be imparted or cultivated, but merely the conscientious performance of a prescribed duty, and for this prizes of various kinds are distributed. Here, as in all other things, we observe the practical bias of English educational effort. An enthusiastic interest, which warms both the intellect and the heart, they care not to inspire, from a fear that it might check the uniform and steady development of the advancing reason, and imperil its equipoise by familiarizing it with merely general notions, or vague, indefinite results. Rather than expose the tyro to this risk, they permit him to sink into simple formalism, which, at all events, appears to furnish a valuable criterion for testing the precise amount of diligent effort he puts forth.

Among the subjects of instruction, whose specific importance and mode of treatment we proceed to consider, the two ancient languages occupy by far the most important place. They constitute, in truth, in connexion with the Bible, the strict *matériel* of English education—a healthy mental discipline being the object kept more especially in view in their reading and explanation. The instruction given in them is chiefly grammatical; but even in this respect is limited to what alone is deemed essential to a correct apprehension of an author's meaning, and to certainty in finding the exactly equivalent English expression. Mr. Wiese affirms, that he has failed to remark the same thoroughness and accuracy of grammatical definition which are required by his compatriots. In Germany, it is well known, the greatest pains are taken to explain as rationally as possible every peculiarity of language, and to bring them before the pupil, as far as this is practicable, in the most intelligible and philosophic form. In all this the English pedagogue is but little interested, provided only the given principle is intelligibly stated, and, when grasped, easy to be recalled on the occurrence of any illustration. Peculiar stress is laid upon this latter point, for herein he believes the exercise of the pupil's judgment to be preëminently called forth; and this opinion it is which induces him to rest satisfied with a method of procedure consecrated by tradition, and having in its favour the prestige derived from its having been in successful operation for centuries. Even in the reading of the upper classes, what is special and peculiar to the individual author is pressed preëmi-

nently upon the attention of the scholar. To what extent he penetrates into the spirit of the whole, say of a Greek tragedy or an Horatian ode—how far he may be said to attain a correct appreciation of his author in a linguistic, ethical, or other point of view—cannot be distinctly learned from Mr. Wiese's statements; but it would seem that, in these and similar requirements, no very great progress is achieved. Questions, for example, are proposed, which oblige him to observe narrowly certain peculiarities of a writer, either in respect of certain statements he makes, or forms of expression he adopts, and diligently to collate them. The same object is sought to be obtained by exercises in metre, which are pushed to a great extent. In these, again, the preliminary or initial steps are altogether mechanical, inasmuch as words taken quite indiscriminately and sometimes entirely at hap-hazard are ranged in juxtaposition for the mere purpose of making a verse. It is not, until a very much later period, that verses are formed, which yield a sense. In these preparatory lessons, the intention can only be that of not distracting the mind of the pupil, by requiring him to pay attention to the thought, from becoming thoroughly grounded in technicalities, and extremely ready in using his material; thus simplifying as much as possible his earliest attempts, and thereby rendering the exercise, which has only to do with prosody and metre, the more certain and easy of execution. In all things the English instructor starts apparently from the assumption, that every faculty of the understanding will act with a vigour proportioned to the one-sided and limited character of its training. At a later time, the pupil acquires, it is true, great ingenuity and skill, not merely in turning original compositions into verse, but also in Latin and Greek renderings of passages from Shakspeare, Milton, Byron, and other English poets. As a means of intellectual discipline, these exercises are of undeniable excellence, and in the consciousness of having gained the dexterity above alluded to, there lies a sense of power, which, as strengthening and developing character, cannot be too zealously promoted. In addition to these considerations, their successful performance demands a very intimate familiarity with the spirit and diction of the ancients, and compels the pupil to a laborious and attentive perusal of their writings. In this way, on the one hand, the pleasure he derives from his classical studies is considerably heightened, while, on the other, his powers of observation and strength of purpose are called into healthy play. To insure these objects, the quantity of a Greek or Latin classic appropriated to each lesson is small, consisting of a previously specified number of lines or verses. The "getting up," nevertheless, of these

moderate tasks must be thorough and exact; and while the choice of authors for private reading is left entirely to the pupil, it is still required that small portions should be taken at a time, and made, by frequent repetition, his own strict property.

Here, again, the great caution employed in guarding the scholar against distraction of his mental powers, and in teaching him to concentrate his energies upon the work in hand, is strikingly apparent. The principle is adhered to, tenaciously, of not exacting anything from him which in any way surpasses his capacity, in order that his intellectual activity may not be unduly tasked, or his success in study imperilled by any feeling of uncertainty. For this reason, the more profound appreciation of Greek and Latin writers, together with all critical investigation of their excellence and beauty is reserved for the university. In the first three years of academic study, the attention of the English student is, for the most part, occupied with a perusal of the ancient writers, which is conducted in a manner very similar to that pursued with the upper or middle classes of the gymnasium. By this arrangement, it is obvious that the English enjoy an important advantage over German teachers. The yearning of the latter is but too natural that their pupils—of whom they well know that it is only in exceptional instances, after leaving school, they revert of their own accord to the writings of Homer, Cicero, Tacitus, Sophocles, Demosthenes, or Plato—could be incited, by a more thorough examination into the intrinsic value and artistic superiority of the old classics, to appreciate in some degree, the spirit, originality, and grandeur of Greek and Roman philosophy. In striving after the realization of this wish, it must, however, be confessed that there is no slight danger of opening up to the boy, of, say from sixteen to twenty years of age, a sphere of thought, in which his untutored faculties are unable of themselves to discover the true track, and of crippling, or hopelessly embarrassing his mental energies in the effort to attain too high a goal. The English avoid this risk with greater certainty, inasmuch as the student, who has by this time arrived at man's estate, was not suffered, when at school, to make any onward advance, until his foot had been firmly planted on the preceding step of the intellectual ladder. While, then, the German teacher is but too apt to accelerate, somewhat prematurely, the progress of his pupil, in order that, by causing him to strain every nerve, he may place him upon a level with himself in knowledge, and not unfrequently pursues a course in which the exertion demanded amounts to over-tension of his energies; the English instructor insures the advancement of his classes by slow and equal steps, and is more certain than his rival can possibly be,

that none remain behind. Hence, it may readily be understood why a strictly classical education, and a profound veneration for the wisdom of antiquity are more generally met with in England than in Germany. The study of the dead languages and their literature, leaves its mark, it is true, upon the minds of all who have gone through the curriculum of the gymnasium; but a distinct and lively consciousness of the precise influence which classical studies have had in producing this impression, and of the way in which, by and through them, the understanding, judgment, taste, and general conceptions of nature and life are trained and enlarged, is just as little to be recognised among the majority, as a vivid and pleasant remembrance of the august and splendid creations of the ancient masters, which have been brought before their notice during the period of their attendance at the gymnasium. The reason of this, as it appears to us, may be discovered in the showy and superficial character of the programme adopted at these institutions, in virtue of which, the student, when just beginning to comprehend Livy and Virgil, quits the second class, and proceeds to the university, never again to look into Tacitus, Plato, or Thucydides, in the event of his being satisfied with the attainment of nothing more than a dim presentiment of the tragic spirit of the first, the ideas of the second, and the magnificent conflict of party principles described by the last of these great writers. In England it is widely different. The impression made by the ancient classic writers is far more persistent. They are pleasantly recalled to memory in after life, because in such reminiscences the painful sense of unrequited exertion, of the understanding struggling with mere form and engaged in the bootless attempt to comprehend matters transcending its capacity, does not disturbingly intermingle. They are taken up again and again, referred to constantly, and the practical sagacity of the reader leads him often enough to the discovery in their pages of instruction or support for the ever-varying circumstances of the times in which he lives.

To their own language, the English devote but little time or special instruction, considering translations from Latin and Greek into English, and back again from the latter into the two former languages, the best preparative for the correct employment of the mother tongue. These exercises are performed with a strictness which is almost painful, in order that the pupil may be enabled to estimate the exact force of every word, and discriminate between its various shades of meaning with the most minute precision. He is not suffered to rest content with the acquisition of mere stereotype or euphonious phraseology, or to be so far dazzled by the graces of

a neatly turned paraphrase, as to be unable to detect inaccuracy of expression, or to appreciate, distinctly, the full significance of what is said. Lessons in English composition are, therefore, of an exceedingly simple and practical character, being intended principally to develop the ability to note and register such statements as deal more particularly with matters of fact; the lesson, properly so called, being made to consist in the discrimination and comparison of some simple thought, establishing or amplifying its truth by the citation of analogous examples, and more especially in reproducing all that may have been read and canvassed during the hour of recitation.

Here, again, a definite quantity, amounting at Harrow to but forty lines, is prescribed as well for English as Latin composition. The importance which the Germans attach to originality and freedom of composition in their own language, is regarded in England as altogether out of place; and tasks, whose performance is exacted from tertians, or pupils in the third form of the gymnasium, it is considered almost criminal to require from English boys. Of intellectual production, it is generally thought that little should be looked for or required at an age which possesses, merely, capacity and adaptedness for gathering information and acquiring a turn of mind, through which, whatever creative power the intellect possesses, may be developed with due carefulness and certainty. In this particular, beyond all doubt, the Germans may derive a useful lesson from their more practical rivals, whose style of prose-writing leaves, generally speaking, nothing to be desired in point of clearness and originality. In German composition, tasks are often given to the pupil which the tutor knows beforehand cannot be executed in such a manner as the subject in itself demands, the opinion being entertained, that if they are only performed in a way which corresponds to some extent with the mental stand-point of the scholar, they will still be profitable exercises, and contribute to the advancement of his capabilities of thought and expression.

Here, again, as it seems to us, it is erroneously assumed that high requirements will, of themselves, elevate the pupil's intellectual range; and that although his performance may, as a general rule, fall short of what might be desired, his perceptions cannot fail, in many cases, to be heightened; and even when it is discovered that he has brought forward as his own and incorporated into his thesis, upon the authority of his teacher or text-book, facts and statements whose accuracy he has taken no pains to test, or to make his own intellectual property, (for in truth they lie beyond the sphere of his own experimental knowledge,) it is considered alike natural and innocuous. Without seeking to affirm that the tyro should insert nothing

in his composition with which he is not himself thoroughly conversant, or which in its more profound relations he does not completely understand, we nevertheless believe, that to insure sound mental progress, it is our duty to see to it, that whatever essential matter he may have derived, not from his own attainment and observation, but from the authority of others, laborious collation during recitation, or the explanations of his instructor, should be excluded from his essay. Let the teacher enjoin upon him the performance of tasks of the character we have named, and he will be betrayed into self-deception as to his own mental progress—will suppose himself to understand, or, perhaps, to have discovered, what he merely repeats upon extrinsic testimony, and regard as his own what in reality he is only borrowing from others. Of this objectionable class are exercises which are based upon a profoundly experimental knowledge of human life, the inner course and development of history, the higher relations of antiquity, the subtle allusions or profound ideas shadowed forth in the master-pieces of modern poetry, and other subjects of the same order which we meet with so frequently in the programmes of German gymnasia. If the object sought is mainly that of grasping the most approved form of expression, of acquiring a logical, accurate, and elegant method of arrangement and statement, it will be realized with much less uncertainty, when the pupil is fully equal to his theme, and can at a glance take in and master all its details, than when, with a kind of mental *echauffement*, he has first to elaborate thought from the dry *matériel*, and then reduce it to proper shape. In these German compositions we frequently perceive not so much exercises in form as in thinking, as if the notion were, that only in writing German the faculty of thought is to be taxed, and that in the classics and mathematics but little scope, comparatively speaking, is afforded for its exercise. Mental labour of the kind exacted in these essays, whose subjects are so exceedingly diversified, is unquestionably an accomplishment of riper years, and more extensive attainments.

In the modern languages, the pupil is carried no further in the public schools of England than in the gymnasia of Germany, neither French nor German being so acquired as their use in living intercourse demands. Nor in truth is any eagerness displayed for the possession of these accomplishments, owing mainly to the persuasion that in the dead languages the precise point to which the scholar has advanced can always be ascertained with great exactitude, from the possibility of finding in both of them a form of expression whereby his thought may be enunciated with the utmost clearness and precision; while, in the modern, the precise idea that may be

sought to be conveyed, in innumerable instances, transcends the particular phraseology in which usage permits it to be clothed. From this circumstance, it happens that the acquisition of the languages of modern Europe is, in great part, a simple exercise of memory, although, to some extent, involving a degree of intelligence which is not ordinarily enjoyed by a boy or youth. In England, therefore, the labour of obtaining an intimate familiarity with their use as an instrument of thought or conversation, is abandoned to opportunities outside the school.

On the value of mathematics as a means of educational training, widely different opinions, as Mr. Wiese informs us, are still put forth in the English periodicals. To Americans, who, with the French and Germans, have long conceded to these studies a prominent place in their schools, and believe them to possess an importance which no other kind of intellectual discipline possesses in like degree, it will perhaps appear unaccountable, that in industrial and commercial England it should still be gravely debated whether the mathematics exert any influence in developing mental power; and if so, to what extent. One party affirms that no education can be called liberal which does not develop the *vis logica* as well as the *copia dicendi*, and accordingly place mathematical attainments upon the same level with classical accomplishments. To this their opponents reply, that the study of the classics no less insures the efficient cultivation of the purely logical faculties; and that a mere mathematician, inasmuch as, in point of fact, he is nothing else than a machine for the performance of certain operations connected with the science of number, can by no means be pronounced a cultivated man, in the higher sense of that expression. If what has just been stated may be considered the epitome of all that is urged on one or the other side of this question, it would really seem that the opposing parties deal their blows without any serious design of even so much as hitting one another. The study of the languages enjoys this great advantage over every other branch of education, that, of all the faculties of the human understanding, it leaves none inactive and untaxed. While, however, language, in a dialectic form, admits a certain freedom, as well in the choice of the expression—*i. e.*, in the form of the idea—as in the arrangement of ideas in smaller or larger groups, the mathematical sciences enforce a strict and necessary progression, and consequently furnish a wholesome, and to many mental idiosyncrasies, an absolutely indispensable supplement to the benefit derivable from philological studies, by habituating the mind, naturally discursive and prone to wander, to a precise and logical mode of thought; to say nothing of the fact, that some acquaintance with the relations of space

and number can in no way be dispensed with by an educated man. Moreover, the study of mathematics, although still occupying a very subordinate position in their curriculum, has already gained an entrance into the majority of English schools, or, at all events, into such as possess a full corps of properly qualified instructors. The natural sciences, however, have not yet been introduced into the public schools, on account of their being regarded as subjects which pertain exclusively to certain professional occupations. The English believe that boys are incapable of employing themselves profitably with their investigation; and that, like the modern languages, however important they may be for the purposes of practical life, they include but little which can assist in moulding the human mind for its proper destination. In their opinion, the school has fulfilled its duty, if it has developed a capability of observation and judgment in the mind of the pupil, which, when inclination leads him to engage his attention with these departments of knowledge, will render him fully equal to their comprehension and investigation. In the High School of Edinburgh, chemistry and geology appear upon the programme, although the instruction in these sciences is resigned to professors in the University. When first introduced, a few zealous pupils applied themselves to these studies, which they subsequently abandoned, although teachers of preëminent ability in both departments were provided. For what reasons the authorities were induced to commence with geology and chemistry, rather than the leading principles of physics, is a point on which Mr. Wiese imparts no information; but it may fairly be surmised that an explanation of those phenomena which present themselves to our notice everywhere in nature, would have proved much more acceptable.

Perhaps it may be assumed that the Englishman is, in general, disposed to look at nature from a utilitarian point of view, and is, therefore, justified in excluding the natural sciences from his educational system. The German, on the contrary, in accordance with his philosophical predilections and mental idiosyncrasy, strives to grasp nature in its deeper relations with God and humanity. Hence it occupies, even in his estimation, a closer and more intimate connexion with his whole intellectual life, than it would seem to sustain in the apprehension of the English, and consequently, in the education given at the gymnasium, which aspires to provide mental pabulum for the entire man, cannot remain without a place. Instruction in these branches must nevertheless be limited—in order that the tyro may not be completely overwhelmed by the multiplicity of subjects claiming his attention—to such details as are most essential, and will furnish a stimulus to more comprehensive study at an after period.

Instruction in history is, by no means, universally admitted into the English public schools. Where it is given, it consists, simply, of familiar directions as to the proper mode of reading good historical works, in which examinations are subsequently held, the hour appropriated to this exercise being the same as that devoted to the perusal of Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, and Tacitus. This statement applies equally to modern history, for which the elementary books of Mignet, Guizot, Markham, Russell, and other writers, are most generally employed. To the labour of communicating a systematic and continuous knowledge of universal history, no claim or pretension whatever is set up. All that is attempted here, is to render the pupil thoroughly conversant with the details of some particular historical period, everything over and above this being left to his own private reading, for which very excellent text-books are provided. With respect to these publications, it may be remarked, that although the Germans have expended much care and labour in the preparation of similar manuals, the best informed of their teachers have long been desirous that the day may soon arrive, in which quasi-professional lectures upon history will be banished altogether from the gymnasium, and when those holding appointments in these institutions will rest satisfied with giving *viva voce* instruction in a few leading divisions of ancient and modern history, of such a character as may be best adapted to the intellectual standpoint of the scholar, and abandon all beyond this to elementary abstracts or syllogies, whose contents shall in the first instance be committed to memory, and afterward repeated periodically in paragraphs of moderate length. Sympathizing most cordially with this wish, it does appear to us that the perpetual complaints we hear from teachers respecting the insufficiency of the time allotted for mastering the enormous material of history, have no substantial foundation, and are to be ascribed to an incorrect apprehension of the task imposed upon those who teach it in the gymnasium.

Religious instruction in the English school is confined almost entirely to the study of the Bible. The New Testament and certain parts of the Septuagint are read in Greek without any minute or exact interpretation. No special lectures upon the principal dogmata of Christian faith and morals, or even upon ecclesiastical history, are delivered. Whatever information is to be acquired by the pupil respecting these subjects, is to be drawn from reading the Scriptures, and is closely connected with this duty. Religion, indeed, is never dealt with in the school as a science, but is discussed from a purely practical point of view. The idea of an exclusively Christian gymnasium, which has been of late so much dis-

cussed in Germany, could not by possibility, according to Mr. Wiese, have had an English origin. To classical antiquity, the English stand in a perfectly naïve relation; it never enters into their heads that any blow can be inflicted upon Christianity from this quarter. A deep gulf, in their judgment, separates the two regions. If this representation is really true, we perceive at once how essentially different is the character of the German from that of the Englishman. Were the latter inclined or competent to grapple as closely, on the one hand, with Christianity, and on the other with the old classic literature, as the German, he would find the attempt to place between the two worlds a wall of partition so insurmountable altogether impossible. Even those among the Germans, who profess publicly their adherence to an entirely one-sided and partial view of revelation, will not mistake or refuse to acknowledge the clear and palpable path which conducts from the ancient classical to the Christian world. The one receives its true illumination only from the other, and the historical development and temporal bearings of the Christian religion can in no way be understood, without a knowledge of antiquity. If, then, the two at certain points are in such close contact with each other, it is of course quite possible that the ideas peculiar to the Christian system may receive, by injudicious treatment, a colouring from the influence of the Pagan cultus, which may have a very prejudicial effect upon the impressionable mind of the boy. That this danger does not at all exist in England, can only happen from the fact that the Anglican, in a similar spirit to the Roman Catholic Church, and in accordance with the universally practical tendencies of the national character, pays more regard to the mere externals of Christianity than German Protestantism. In this opinion we shall feel ourselves still more strengthened by considering more attentively, as we now proceed to do, the way and manner in which the English treat the subject of moral education.

And here we must observe, that their public schools are educational establishments in a different sense from the German gymnasia. Boarding houses for the pupils are connected with the latter only in exceptional cases, while in England this is almost universally the established practice, there being no exception in the instance of the more celebrated schools. Somewhere about the twelfth year of their age, boys are dismissed from the family circle, in order to be withdrawn from the noisy life of the town, the temptations and distractions of miscellaneous society, the indulgence of the parental roof, and handed over to quiet rooms in private and secluded houses, there to undergo a stricter discipline and more earnest mental

training. While the Germans regard these "alumnate" as a make-shift for boys, whose parents have not time, inclination, or aptitude for the superintendence of their education, and every father, who loves his son, prefers, when circumstances permit his doing so, to retain him under his own roof, in order to deprive him to no greater extent than is absolutely unavoidable, of that maternal care which nothing, in his estimation, can replace; the English believe that the best thing they can do for their children is to procure admission for them, at the earliest opportunity, into Eton, Winchester, Harrow, and similar foundations.

Here, again, we have a feature peculiarly characteristic of the Englishman, and his mental and moral training. Of the tender affection and ideal bent, thereby communicated to the character, which are so distinctive of the German, they apparently know and desiderate but little, and, therefore, they do not hesitate to intrust the guardianship of their children to strangers, provided only they have reason to believe them possessed of such qualifications as are necessary to make them "gentlemen." Within the school, also, a hearty and affectionate devotion of the pupil to his tutor is just as seldom met with, as an enthusiastic zeal for one or more subjects of instruction. These are by no means cherished aims, which are rather those of developing strength of purpose and judgment, and moulding the youth into an able, energetic, and self-relying man. Herein we are almost involuntarily reminded of the old Roman "virtus," and may call the attention of our readers to a letter of the late celebrated Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, which is cited by Mr. Wiese, as strikingly illustrative of English educational principles, and which would not have been unworthy of a Cato. He thus writes to his son at school: "Let your first object be to prove to the world that you are not made of wood or straw, but that some iron is embedded in your nature. Let men know that you will do what you say—that you possess fixed, unwavering resolution—and that when you have once made up your mind, neither threats nor caresses will have any influence over you." Such is the goal to which English *pædagog*y naturally leads, being aided most importantly in its efforts to attain it by the boarding-houses in which the boys are placed, and where all have to submit to precisely the same treatment, even if regarded in their several homes as already great gentlemen. The realization of this object is believed to depend mainly upon the proper management and guidance of the feeling of self-respect. Grown-up men and women evince a delicate appreciation of the just rights and privileges of the boy, and it results from this that the scholar never exhibits an intimidated or cringing demeanour toward his superiors;

while his teachers, on their part, are careful not to beat him down by any undue exercise of authority, or needless severity of discipline. A conviction is generally entertained that, if a tutor once causes his pupil to fear him, he incurs imminent risk of being tricked or deceived. Even the external appearance of the masters in their official costume, which is fixed by ancient usage, is dignified without being pedantic, and well calculated to impress the minds of their haughty and turbulent charge with becoming respect. In Germany the same impression will, it is hoped, be produced by the teacher's celebrity in philology or science, which in England is expected as the result of his manly and consistent deportment, more importance being attached to what may be gained through his example, than to anything which can be acquired from his teaching. That the development of a proper degree of self-respect may not be injudiciously checked, an amount of freedom is conceded to the pupils, which in Germany would be pronounced extraordinarily great. At meal-times, and during the hours of sleep and recreation, they are subjected to scarcely any surveillance. They are permitted to write or carve their names upon the benches, or wheresoever they may please, and may read any books they may fancy. On public days, when recitations are delivered, or prizes distributed, they are allowed to applaud or hiss as freely as they please. In some schools punishments are awarded by a jury of pupils, and in certain others a weekly newspaper is published by the upper classes. Dr. Arnold, when head-master of Rugby, availed himself of the coöperation of the sixth form in editing a weekly journal. In all this, a free and liberal supervision is carefully preserved, which, in overlooking what is petty and near, does not lose sight of the resultant whole. In non-essentials, extreme latitude is given, while in matters of graver moment the utmost strictness is exercised. To the latter class, the conscientious and punctilious fulfilment of duty, in regard to the preparation of all prescribed lessons and strict observance of the truth, upon all occasions, is considered preëminently to belong.

Lying, as Mr. Wiese had opportunities of assuring himself from many and various quarters, is of very rare occurrence in the public schools of England. From this vice the boys are preserved by that feeling of self-respect, which in their case is partly innate and partly the result of training. They deem it beneath their dignity to lie; and when detected in a fault, consider it despicable cowardice to shrink from bearing the penalty. Among the Germans it is confessedly quite otherwise. In their schools, owing more particularly to a certain *esprit-du-corps*, which is diffused through every class, the point of honour is made to consist in not confessing or becoming

responsible for any offence that may have been committed, especially in the presence of one's fellow-pupils. In the larger private boarding-schools, lying is preëminently the order of the day, and the masters feel compelled, in certain cases, to connive at this vice, or even, perhaps, to extend to it a sort of tacit sanction. It would seem that the proper method of eradicating this veritable plague-spot is far from being generally adopted. Confidence awakens confidence; this is a trite, yet frequently neglected truth. There is too great a disposition to presuppose falsehood, even in cases where no real ground exists for such a supposition, and to let the scholar perceive and feel it. In this way the love of truth is easily blunted. A sounder and wiser policy seems to be that of trusting too much rather than too little, and to express this confidence frankly to the pupil, and with an emphasis that will insure his belief. By adopting such a course it may certainly be expected that the master, provided he possesses in other respects the esteem of his pupils, will be enabled, by stating to a boy who still retains some feeling for what is honourable and good, that he will accord implicit belief to his word, to induce him more readily to avow the truth, than when he suffers him to perceive that any statement he may make will be received at the very outset with disbelief or suspicion. This is undoubtedly a matter of very grave importance, and Mr. Wiese is probably correct in referring that want of courage and decision in testifying boldly for what is felt to be the truth, which many German writers have remarked, more especially of late, in the public life of their fellow-citizens, to the proneness to falsehood which so often blemishes their children. In England, a lie is punished by caning, which at Eton is inflicted even upon boys of the sixth form, when convicted of this crime. Dr. Arnold employed the cane only as a punishment for falsehood, while at Eton and other schools it is used for any gross infringement of the rules, and even for neglected lessons. This mode of punishment Mr. Wiese found to his surprise to be looked upon as inflicting no personal degradation upon the sufferer. It is regarded as the inevitable consequence of breaking rules, and as involving no diminution of the personal esteem in which a boy may be held. It is administered with severity indeed, but with a total absence of passion, by the head-master himself, in full official costume. Giver and receiver remain excellent friends, although neither of them ever forgets the occurrence—a circumstance to which it owes the largest part of its efficacy. That punishment, and even severe personal chastisement, are voluntarily submitted to, is a phenomenon to be explained by the remarkable sound sense and high veneration inherent in the Englishman's very flesh and blood for

law and for authority. On the other hand, if the proposition were submitted to a German tutor, that one of the senior boys should be solemnly visited with a flogging by the cane or birch, for a lie, or for neglect of duty, nothing could exceed his astonishment. So too with the boy himself. If he possessed any sense of personal honour, he would feel himself, in having undergone such a punishment, morally annihilated, and the idea of finding consolation in the satisfaction thereby rendered to the law would be to him absolutely incomprehensible. In his view, the law is little more than an abstraction, or, at all events, does not occupy so high a place in his esteem as his own individuality, his own subjective self-consciousness. In this one particular, it may be said that the praxis of the English rises into ideality. The idea of the State pervades their whole being from infancy upward, and makes them a great nation; while the Germans, notwithstanding all their ideality in other matters, persist in adhering to their individual prerogatives and egoism, and as a nation come to nothing. To develop and establish respect for authority, is regarded by the people of England as one main duty of the public schools; and upon the fact of their fully accomplishing this object depends essentially the favour in which, notwithstanding manifold and avowed deficiencies, they stand with the British public. It is believed that independence of mind can only be gained by first submitting to discipline at the hands of an experienced and cultivated instructor; in other words, by learning the important habit of obedience. He who understands best, albeit possessed of but little scientific attainment or reputation, how to evoke, by a scrupulously correct deportment and a dignified treatment of persons and things, the right kind of obedience, is regarded as the most accomplished and able instructor to whom their children can be confided. This requirement of obedience is not, however, as previously remarked, pushed to any greater extent than is absolutely necessary and indispensable to the true interest of all. Much, with which it is thought most expedient not to intermeddle, is overlooked, and a virtue made, perhaps, of necessity. Thus, for example, the objectionable habit of carving names in all imaginable places is turned to good account. On walls and benches, the names of great men—Dryden, Porson, Byron, Peel, Wellington—who were educated in the same schoolroom, are pointed out as a stimulus to the acquisition of like celebrity; and in this way the memorial graven in the lime and wood becomes elevated into a pious reverence for the institution, which is cherished through life to a far greater extent in England than in any other country of which we are aware, and is well portrayed in Cowper's lines:—

"We love the play-place of our early days;
The scene is touching, and the heart is stone
That feels not at that sight, and feels at none.
The wall on which we tried our graving skill,
The very name we carved subsisting still;
The bench on which we sat while deep employ'd,
Though mangled, hack'd, and hew'd, not yet destroy'd."

In general terms, it may be said that the English teacher does not scruple or disdain to employ moral motives, which the more philosophic German would pronounce equivocal in character, or too external and low, provided they contain a something that induces in the will a decided movement to what is good, and assists him in leading it to this goal. The distribution of medals, prizes, and certificates of honour, which, with the names of the scholars to whom they are awarded, are published in the public journals, is a practice which, according to German ideas, is pushed to an extravagant excess. The German pedagogue desires nobler incentives to diligence and good conduct, and wishes prizes to be regarded rather as wages for some service performed, than as a stimulus to what ought to be done; and in point of fact it rarely happens that the young Teuton will exert himself simply to obtain a book. They are anxious that their scholars should seek to exhibit diligence and good conduct from the conviction that the effort to do so is alike honourable to the boy and the man; they are anxious that the upper classes should be interested in the subjects brought before their attention for their own sake, and in the majority of cases it may perhaps be affirmed that this expectation is not disappointed.

If, then, the statement of Mr. Wiese, that in a moral point of view English boys are superior to German, must be admitted, inasmuch as the former, although often frivolous, arrogant and rude, evince, generally speaking, a more docile and truthful disposition; this assertion must, nevertheless, be received with such limitations as are due to the more external and practical character of English morality, derived, as it undoubtedly is, not so much from the depth of the affections and an intelligent appreciation of moral excellence and high aspirations, as from a dutiful recognition of a line of conduct they are bound to pursue, because it is reasonable and advantageous. Measured, therefore, by a higher standard, the moral condition of English schools does not after all deserve to be rated higher than that which prevails in those of their neighbours. The same remark appears in no less degree applicable to the religious training of the English youth and the English nation in general. They are more addicted to the use of outward religious forms, and more generally in the habit of singing, praying, and reading the Bible than,

perhaps, any other people. Nevertheless, all has the appearance of being done in deference to the established usages of society, and of possessing no other or higher value whatever. They are customs the boy brings with him from his home, indisputably valuable, and in many instances productive of great good, but whose intrinsic worth is much abated by the consideration that they are simply external observances, which are performed like any other matter of business or routine, in conformity with a stereotype formalism, and are for this reason, in a large proportion of cases, wholly destitute of any truly ennobling and sanctifying power. This fact does not escape their own observation, but they cling tenaciously to their customs, because they assist in habituating the people, and more especially the rising generation, to a proper sense of subordination to the "higher powers," and to a fixed and definite position in society. And to this goal the entire organization of private and social life in England appears to be directed. They are throughout a political people, and in everything look rather to the end, than to the intrinsic nature of the means by which it is to be secured. With this marked feature in their policy their whole training is in harmony, and herein consists its great distinction from the German mode of education. English boys take with them to the school, habits inured at home to that moral discipline—the germ, so to speak, of their future political and religious mode of thinking—which has been handed down from one generation to another; and, in addition to this, the consciousness of belonging to a free and mighty nation. On these foundations the school continues to build, endeavouring by a less sharply defined, and consequently more efficient instrumentality, to invigorate the intellect and strengthen the character.

The German schoolboy, on the contrary, brings no such marked and deeply impressed mental habitudes from the parental roof, it being expected there that the gymnasium or the school will inspire him with loyal, patriotic, and even religious feeling. Instruction in religion, the history and national literature of his country, will, it is apprehended, accomplish this result. In a great degree, this expectation is based upon a delusion, and that wherein the German system is peculiarly defective may be learned from the English method of instruction and training. To be strong and powerful as a nation, the former greatly need that faculty of self-restraint which is so characteristic of the latter, and which Rome in the times of the republic, Sparta, and even Athens, before Socrates and the Sophists had undermined the ancient faith and moral habits of their fellow-citizens, possessed in a like remarkable degree. It has been truly observed of the Germans, that they

suffer greatly from the very excess of thought and emotion. Herein consist their greatness and their weakness. Their mental versatility prevents them from attaining a fixed political form and character, and causes them to be numbered in the category of "foiled potentialities." An Alexander might, perhaps, with their assistance conquer the world; but after his decease they would scarcely escape the wretchedness of submission to the sway of a succession of tyrants. Ere the great day arrives in which their nationality will be recognised, either different principles from those which now govern the world must become current, or they themselves must undergo a change. Their habit of expatiation—of dealing with the vague, the unknown, and the universal—must circumscribe its sweep, and their aims and aspirations must be more narrowly defined. In this change, the school, with which we are now exclusively concerned, must participate, although without abandoning, on this account, its proper character and functions.

We are far from believing that, in the details, English schools can be employed advantageously as a model; on the contrary, it is evident that they will be compelled to adopt such modifications and relaxations in their discipline, as will bring them into closer approximation to German institutions. Already the number of those who are embarked in the cause of school and university reform in England is very great. At Rugby, years ago, Dr. Arnold was induced to institute many innovations, although, it must be confessed, the success of the experiment fell so far short of his anticipations, that he found himself compelled, for example, to restore the clumsy system of manufacturing Greek and Latin verses, which he had cut down considerably, to the same extent as previously, and in other respects also was led to abandon, toward the close of his career, many improvements which he had ventured to introduce. The impending reform of the universities will, in any event, have for its consequence a partial revolution of the schools. But to such a medley of studies as prevails at present in the German gymnasia, it will certainly not be driven.

ART. III.—NIEBUHR.

The Life and Letters of Barthold George Niebuhr, with Essays on his Character and Influence. By the CHEVALIER BUNSEN, and PROFESSORS BRANDIS and LOEBELL. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 1 vol., 12mo.

IN an age of insincerity and pretension, like the present, we cannot conceive of any secular reading more invigorating than the modest life and manly letters of Niebuhr. The external and the internal life of a great man must always excite a very vivid interest; the accurate and conscientious biography of a truly good one must ever be refreshing, except to the few who have entirely paralyzed, by long perseverance in vicious habitudes, that capacity for the sympathetic admiration of virtue which is the common heritage of youth; but when goodness and greatness are both united in the same individual, we may expect redoubled pleasure from the rarity of the combination, and from the light which each illumined part of the brilliant character reflects upon the other. Such an expectation is most felicitously gratified by this *Life of Niebuhr*, which assumes in a great measure the form and truthfulness of an unconscious autobiography. The outlines of the portrait, and the surrounding incidents which serve as a back-ground and explain its historical relations, are simply and vigorously sketched in the brief narrative which connects together the several epistolary groups; but the life, the action, the intellectual and moral constitution of the man, whose representation completes the picture, are furnished by the ample series of Niebuhr's own letters. To aid the judgment of others, and quicken their apprehension of the illustrious dead, we are favoured, in a sort of appendix, with the impressions produced by Niebuhr's daily contact and association upon some of the distinguished men who were honoured with his friendship and familiarity. Thus Niebuhr, the man, is exhibited to us under the most important aspects: not as a special, fixed, and inanimate phenomenon, changing by methodical gradations through a uniform succession of monotonous developments, which is too often the case in biographies; but with all his complex yet homogeneous variations, and with the quick alternations of feeling and fancy, which characterize the spontaneous manifestations of real life, and present the same features under such diverse angles and in such dissimilar lights to different observers. Those intermingling colours and shifting phases which run into each other with an easy and natural flow, and produce the diversities, the conflicting interpretations, and the apparent anoma-

lies of the same life, are all preserved by the mode of delineation adopted in this volume; while ordinarily all these characteristic discrepancies are obliterated beneath the single colour which is spread over the whole canvass. The result is, that we find in the present instance an indescribable charm in the biography, which heightens all the excellences of the picture, and adds to the other strong attractions possessed by the simple story of a good and great man's career.

Niebuhr's birth placed him in that intermediate grade of society which is equally removed from the vanities, frivolities, and temptations of wealth, and from the daily exactions and stern necessities of poverty; a class which possesses all the hopes and few of the clogs of life; which can offer to its sons every incitement to effort, and, at the same time, provide them with the preliminary assistance to render effort effectual, without ministering to indolence or self-indulgence. The father of Niebuhr enjoyed a moderate independence, and held under the Danish crown the office of Secretary to the province of South-Ditmarsh. To Meldorf, the chief town of the district, he retired in 1778, with his little family, consisting of his wife and two children—a daughter of four years of age, and his son Barthold, who was about two years old at the time, having been born on the 27th August, 1776—but a few weeks after the declaration of the independence of the United States, and thus at the commencement of that great series of political changes which have transformed the history of the world, and have not yet reached their full accomplishment.

In this retreat Carsten Niebuhr continued to reside for thirty-seven years, till his death in 1815. Remote from the attractions, as from the facilities of the great world—for railroads had not then penetrated into Holstein—he spent the remainder of his simple and honest existence in the conscientious discharge of the duties of his office, in the education of his children, and in the practice of the kindly charities of a benevolent life. A limited circle of intelligent friends gave animation to the tranquillity of his seclusion; an occasional visit from scientific strangers broke the calm routine, brightened his reminiscences, and preserved his connection with the intellectual world, which continued to honour his name. Forgetting that world, though not of that world forgot, he pursued noiselessly the even tenor of his way, and rendered a greater service to humanity by the education which he imparted to his illustrious son, in this unpromising obscurity, than he could have accomplished by prosecuting his contemplated journey into the heart of Africa, or by the eager pursuit of honours and distinctions. This contentment of an

adventurous and renowned traveller with the common-place routine of an humble life, affords such a contrast to the love of display, the desire of excitement, and the craving for notoriety, which so frequently accompany intellectual eminence, that we regard it with admiration and delight. It is gratifying to witness the unsophisticated nature of man escaping without regret from the gilded harness which enchants, while it fetters, minds of a less healthy and vigorous tone.

The father employed his young son, as his years increased, in his own occupations, pleasures, and studies, and soon commenced devoting himself diligently to his education. He seemed to look forward to the accomplishment, by his offspring, of the more ambitious hopes which had haunted his own youthful dreams, but had been resigned for the cares of settled life. The father entered as cordially into the amusements as into the studies of his children; and he often contrived to render even their recreations instructive. He made collections of coins and seals for them, from which they took casts, and thus studied heraldry, and, we should suppose, something of numismatics also: both important aids to the acquisition of certain portions of history. In summer he assisted his boy in building fortifications in the garden according to military science, and taught him to attack and defend them by rule. The child was to make his acquaintance with actual war in a less agreeable and scientific form, as a full private in the landwehr when the disastrous invasion of Prussia by Napoleon took place. But the lessons so pleasantly studied in Holstein produced their fruit in the sagacious criticisms on Livy's descriptions of battles, which constitute so important a feature in his Roman History.

But the attention of the father was not confined to the sports of his children: he taught them English, French, Mathematics and Geography; he related to them stories from history, perhaps similar to the heroic legends composed by the historian for his son, and probably wonderful tales and curious incidents of travel, picked up by himself in his extensive wanderings through the marvellous East—for Arabia, and the whole land of the morning, as the Germans poetically call Asia, were then unknown regions; they had not yet been revealed to Europe by the invasion of Napoleon, they were not reached by peninsular and oriental steamers, tapped by railroads, or traversed by touring penny-a-liners as they are now. They were still the lands of the sun and of enchantment, and were calculated to stimulate the imagination of the listener as much as his mind was instructed by the personal observation of the teacher. The elder Niebuhr appears to have taught his son also something

of the Latin and the Greek, and to have afforded him occasional glimpses into astronomy and the other physical sciences; but for these sciences, though he studied them afterward in the regular course of his university education, and mastered their principles and leading outlines, he seems never to have had much affection.

This alternation of instructive amusement and agreeable study, with his father as the companion and superintendent of both, must have been of essential service to the young Niebuhr, especially as it was commenced at a very early age. His aptitude for learning was very remarkable; he was quick in acquiring, and tenacious in remembering; and, at the same time, eager and restless for the attainment of multifarious knowledge. His father speaks of him at six years old with parental fondness and apprehension. He is alarmed at the warmth and impetuosity of his temper, which was not exactly passionate, but impatient, sensitive, and irritable. This rapid fever of the blood, though cooled down by advancing years and a steady effort of self-restraint, was throughout life a constant source of mortification and self-reproach to the historian, and occasioned at times a harshness of manner, and asperity of expression, which were wholly at variance with the exuberant benevolence of his heart. In the praises and alarms of his father, who expatiates in correspondence with his friends on the subject of his most anxious affections—the promise of his boy—we readily distinguish the rudimentary germs of the future character of the more illustrious son. As a child, he was brave, candid, upright, and sincere; proud, yet modest and shy—the moral paradox of all true genius; imaginative, with the extreme sensitiveness which always accompanies any high development of that faculty; tender, affectionate, impressible, and consequently irritable; studious, and persevering, though always deeming himself indolent for intermitting his labours while anything remained to be accomplished. While he was yet a youth, we find all these tendencies blending themselves into one homogeneous nature, and giving to his intellect that tone and temper which adapted it so admirably for its career of original historical investigation. These varied powers, mental and moral, converged toward a point, and, fusing the abundant and dissimilar materials gained from his father's conversation, from his own assiduous studies and promiscuous reading, and from the wide circle of accidental sources, assumed the appearance of a faculty of prophetic insight into the changes and destinies of nations. We are told that when the Turkish war broke out in 1787, it so strongly excited his mind that he dreamed of it at night, and fancied himself reading from the newspapers the intelligence of events which had not yet occurred, but which

were realized shortly afterward. His accurate divination of the military transactions, the shifting currents of the popular commotions in the French Revolution, and the plans and objects of the revolutionary leaders, is said to have excited the astonishment of Count Bernstorff. Such statements are regarded or disregarded as wild prodigies by those who comprehend neither the capabilities of a vigorous and comprehensive mind, nor the application of the multifarious materials of political knowledge; but when accurate and varied information of sufficient extent is at the service of an intellect capable of appreciating and employing it, and fired with the anticipative ardour of the imagination which divines the future and reconstructs the past out of the elements which compose them, we meet with those rare but genuine instances of prophecy which are the fruit of the union of genius with science. Such a gift, duly restrained in its exercise by a sober judgment, is the compass of the great statesman, and the conjuring rod of the great historian; and we may attribute Niebuhr's distinguished success in both capacities, but especially in the latter, to the eminent degree in which he possessed this remarkable faculty.* For the process of reviving the past from the scattered relics and mutilated memorials which have been handed down to us, is strictly analogous to that of anticipating the future from its connection with the past, and its partial manifestation in the present. Thus the singularly original and novel character of Niebuhr's historical labours may be regarded as the consequence of a peculiar individual endowment, and the triumph of a particular cast of intellect, formed and educated under favourable circumstances, rather than as the result of one of those discoveries which force themselves into the light after the lapse of

* Procopius, a truly great historian, remarks, τοῖς ἀεὶ προγεγενημένοις τεκμηριοῦσθαι τὰ ἐσόμενα ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλὲι δύνανται ἄνθρωποι. De Bello Gothico, lib. iii, c. xxxiv, vol. ii, p. 420, ed. Bonn. Old Jerome Wolf, one of the long-buried giants, says: "Præscientia rerum futurarum, si qua est, divini potius esse muneris quam humani creditur; etsi non desunt qui vel natura incitati, vel usu rerum "edocti ea prædicunt, quæ multo post futura sunt." Pref. ad Zonaram, p. xxx. Coleridge (Biog. Lit., c. x.) explains Burke's brilliancy as a statesman, as we have explained Niebuhr's success.

The same idea is beautifully expressed by Shakspeare, King Henry IV, part ii, act iii, sc. 1:—

"WARWICK—There is a history in all men's lives,
Figuring the nature of the times deceased:
The which observed, a man may prophesy
With a near aim of the main chance of things
As yet not come to life; which in their seeds,
And weak beginnings, lie intresured.
Such things become the hatch and brood of time."

time, and are revealed to the ostensible discoverers by the accidents of science, or the spontaneous advancement of knowledge. Niebuhr's mode of treating an historical subject was almost entirely new; it was not merely an extension and improvement of former practices, but the introduction of a new and more scientific one; and the novel method was suggested less by the existing state of historical literature than by the peculiarities of Niebuhr's own moral and intellectual constitution. We have partially traced the circumstances under which that constitution was developed, and to its further study we now return.

Niebuhr seems to have derived much benefit in his childhood from the instruction and the library of a literary neighbour in Meldorf. This was Boje, editor of the *Deutsches Museum*, who had been appointed prefect of the province in 1781, and who took great interest in the promise and proficiency of the young genius. From Madam Boje Niebuhr received assistance in his French studies, which had been commenced under his father; but these pleasant and profitable lessons were terminated, in his tenth year, by the death of his kind teacher. Before this time, however, he had manifested his literary tendencies by numerous essays on political and other subjects, and had even displayed some aptitude for poetical composition. His classical studies were prosecuted at home under the superintendence of his father, with the aid of an incompetent teacher from the gymnasium of the town. It was not till his thirteenth year that he attended the gymnasium itself. Up to this period he had pursued a desultory but extensive course of study at home; and even before the completion of his eighth year he had mastered the English language sufficiently to read without help any work in that tongue. He had also had the advantage of an association, which was something more than the mere familiarity of a child, with Voss, the translator of Homer, whom accident, family connections, or other causes, had attracted to Meldorf. Niebuhr's stay at the local academy was of brief duration. He was the youngest, but the most advanced member of the upper class; and, in the year after his entrance, on the departure of most of his elder classmates, he was once more relegated to home study, but superintended this time by the principal of the gymnasium, who gave him an hour's private lesson every day. In this manner, which might have been fatal to a less diligent and inquiring mind, his education was conducted until he went to the University of Kiel, in 1794. His course was interrupted by one brief interlude, when his father sent him to Hamburg, to a school founded and conducted by an old friend of his of the name of Büsch, which was then the most celebrated in Europe for instruc-

tion in the modern languages and commercial science. The whirl of excitement and dissipation, into which he was thrown, rendered study hopeless; and he soon implored his father to restore him to his home, a prayer which was granted after three months' absence. At Büsch's house Niebuhr acquired the acquaintance of Lessing, Reimarus, and other notabilities, and the friendship of Klopstock and Ebeling; but in the midst of the brilliant society which was congregated there, he felt that his youth and his objects were alike incompatible with the tastes prevailing around him. His return home was accordingly both beneficial and acceptable.

Before his departure for the university we find him engaged in the erudite occupation of collating MSS. which were supplied by Münter from Copenhagen, and by Heyne from Göttingen. Heyne was anxious that the supervision of Niebuhr's education should be confided to him; and this was apparently the desire of his father, though his views on the subject were frustrated by the condition of European affairs consequent upon the breaking out of the first French Revolution; for it was during the confusion of this stormy period that Niebuhr's youth was spent. Indeed, the grief inspired by the terrible incidents of that gloomy time suggested to the future historian of Rome emigration to the shores of America; but his imaginations with regard to the internal aspect of the United States must have been very different at that age from the convictions on the subject which he cherished in his later life. The impressions left on his mind by the events of this period were singularly deep and permanent, and determined in a great measure his political creed and philosophy; they coloured all his kindred speculations, infused themselves into his historical views, regulated his interpretation of the vast changes in European society and in the European system, which he witnessed in his mature years, and spread a hue of melancholy over all his anticipations of the future. In all of Niebuhr's writings, but especially in his letters, we read the ruling secret of his thoughts, which had been inspired and confirmed by the French Revolution and its developments. He might have appropriately adopted the short but significant device:—

Le passé me tourmente, et je crains l'avenir.

Niebuhr's stay at the University of Kiel was limited to two years, and was terminated by the acceptance of the office of private secretary to Count Schimmelman, the Danish minister of finance. There is little that is striking in his collegiate career; he seems to have studied exclusively those branches of learning which had not entered into the circle of his home education. The Roman Law, Meta-

physics, and the other branches of Ethics, and the Natural Sciences occupied his scholastic hours. For Metaphysics he manifested little aptitude: but he appreciated the depth and sagacity of Kant; he perceived the importance of a philosophical substratum for history, but he recognised at the same time the dangers which might spring, and have since sprung, from the theories of the Transcendental school. We find Niebuhr's admiration for the classics, and especially for Aristotle and Cicero, already confirmed; and we notice with interest his early assurance that history was his true vocation. Having been urged by Dr. Hensler, an old friend of his father's, and a valuable friend to himself, to devote himself to the study of the natural history of antiquity, he remarks on the proposal: "This is a good, and worthy, and beautiful pursuit for those who like it; but from the peculiar direction of my mind and talents, I believe that nature has intended me for a literary man, an historian of ancient and modern times, a statesman, and perhaps a man of the world: although the last, thank God, neither in the proper sense of the word, nor in the horrible one which is usually associated with it. Meanwhile my individual taste will certainly carry the day; and if my name is ever to be spoken of, I shall be known as an historian and political writer, as an antiquarian and philologist."* He had truly anticipated his future career; and his intellectual tastes proved to be prophetic instincts. It will be noticed that he was ambitious of distinction; this desire of fame, "the last infirmity of noble minds," is the earliest stimulant of genius, the last weakness over which it triumphs.† In Niebuhr it was no vulgar love of notoriety, but the desire of excellence, and the assurance of that excellence which the testimony of fame bestows. "I will receive roses and myrtles from female hands," says he "but no laurels; I only wish that I may plant them and then be crowned by three or five men."‡ "Knowledge, what is commonly called learning, mere dull memory-work, will never be the aim of my exertions. The one thing needful is, to cultivate one's understanding for one's self, so as to render it capable of production. He who merely crams himself with the conceptions of other men's minds, clothed in forms foreign to his own nature, will never accomplish much. Quiet and independent energetic industry can alone attain to what is true, and bring forth what is really useful."§

* Letter xi. 16. November, 1794. Niebuhr's Life, &c., p. 55.

† It is remarkable that Milton's numerous commentators have not remembered the observation of Tacitus relative to Helvidius Priscus. "Erant quibus adpetentior famæ videretur, quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissima exiuit." Tac. Hist., lib. iv, c. 5.

‡ Letter ix. 7. September, 1794, p. 54.

§ Letter x, p. 55.

These are remarkable sentiments to be entertained by a young man of eighteen, and are expressed with an accuracy and precision equally remarkable. It is, however, still more important to observe that his whole life was guided by these principles, and was a practical commentary on these early aspirations. He attained almost more than he had proposed to himself.

A few months after his arrival at Kiel, he writes: "My head swims when I survey what I have yet to learn—philosophy, mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural history. Then, too, I must perfect myself in history, German and French, and study Roman law, and the political constitutions of Europe, as far as I can, and increase my knowledge of antiquities."* If he did not learn all this, within the period of five years as proposed by himself, he learned more than this in the ensuing years, for his father enumerates, in 1807, twenty languages with which his son was at that time acquainted.

Whoever has studied the notes to Niebuhr's *History of Rome*, and observed the numberless mutilated and scattered fragments which are brought together in the wonderful mosaic of the text, or has noticed the easy familiarity with the Consular Fasti, and the wilderness of recurring names which is displayed in the course of the history, must have been amazed at the fidelity and minute retention of Niebuhr's memory, and must recognise how essential such a memory was for the accomplishment of the peculiar triumph which Niebuhr achieved. He was entirely mistaken, however, in supposing that his vigorous memory impaired his judgment; it facilitated and strengthened it, and multiplied the instances embraced by its inductions. His judgment was equally profound and sober, and possessed a range and fidelity which gave to his conclusions, very frequently, the semblance of inspiration; and his subsequent estimation of his merits was more just than his previous suspicion of the dangers to be apprehended from his memory. "If I have anything to thank nature for," he writes to Madame Hensler, "her best gift to me was a correct and very rapid judgment, a facility in detecting everything false, incorrect, untrue, that can hardly be imposed upon."† Its merits, however, extended even further than this. It was combined and often identified with that highest order of imagination, which divines causes from their effects, and effects from their causes; which discerns what is wanting from the fragments that are known; and by the application of general laws to each partial manifestation, is enabled to dispense with the aid of a complete revelation. It was by the high development and sagacious exercise of this very rare faculty that Niebuhr was enabled to reconstruct the early periods

* Letter v, p. 51.

† Letter xxvi, p. 79.

of Roman history from the mutilated and misunderstood legends which were preserved by Livy and Dionysius Halicarnassensis, and from the disconnected fragments which had been embalmed in the rude conglomerate of Servius and other miscellaneous writers of late times. He undoubtedly estimated himself justly, when he remarked that "the chief talent I possess, or have preserved, besides that of memory, (and indeed, it is the cause of the latter,) is a very quick comprehension of the matter in hand, a correct and clear perception, which almost invariably seizes at once on the true state of the case."^{*}

This instinctive discernment of the truth in the midst of all the complications of error with which the truth might be entwined was conspicuously illustrated in his mode of treating the tangled questions of early history; but it also enabled him to act with promptness, discretion, and success in the business affairs of life. He was frequently employed, and always with credit, in the solution of financial problems, and the transaction of financial and other arduous business. He became a Jew among the Jews, a Gentile among the Gentiles; mixed with bankers, and brokers, and money-changers, and amazed them all with his superior expertness and perspicuity in the tortuous labyrinths of their own obscure policy.[†] We find him at one time looking to mercantile occupations as the sole probable means[‡] of support and independence; at another offered a lucrative partnership singly for the sake of his talents in speculation.[§] Yet he was conscious of the dangers and temptations which surrounded such pursuits; he avoided them as far as was practicable, consistent with urgent duties, and he escaped with pleasure and exhilaration from the contamination of intrigues, political, mercantile, or financial.||

In his early life Niebuhr was inclined to scepticism, notwithstanding the constant presence of a decidedly religious temperament; but his moral sense was remarkably acute and sensitive. He felt intuitively the contagion of the daily life of the world around him, and his sentiments revolted at practices which his intellect soon comprehended, and was obliged sometimes to employ. It is one of the most painful disasters of the current age, that the necessities of life and the irresistible coercion of the common procedure of our contemporaries, bear down with them in the common torrent of the times even those who recognise the fatal tendencies, the immoral character, and the defilement of the prevalent course of worldly

^{*} Letter xxxiii, p. 85.

[†] Letter lxxxi, p. 143.

[‡] "I can earn a living either as a scholar or a merchant." Letter lxxxiv, p. 148.

[§] Niebuhr's Life, p. 156.

|| Letter cxxiii, p. 206.

action. In vain they struggle against the stream, in vain they yield to the inspirations of purer sentiments, and endeavour to extricate themselves from the rushing cataract; they are either overwhelmed by the boiling waters, or they are thrown exhausted, gasping, unheeded, on the dry and barren strand. In Niebuhr's day, and especially in Germany, the reckless avidity for gain had not yet acquired such a lamentable ascendancy as it has since obtained; but it was already sufficiently displayed to excite his apprehensions and disgust; and he endeavoured through life, with a singular degree of success, to follow the dictates of a healthy conscience, and to free himself from the chains of a selfish and greedy generation.

Niebuhr's stay at Kiel, if it has left behind no proofs of startling brilliancy, must have impressed deeply on others the conviction of talents and qualities more estimable than any display, for it subsequently led to an offer of a professorship there, which was declined, and was the stepping-stone to his future advancement. It had the further important effect of introducing him to his first bride, to whom he was betrothed in the autumn of 1787, wedded in May, 1800, and from whom he was separated by death, after a happy union, on the 21st June, 1815. She was three years older than himself, but he deemed this an advantage, considering that his dreamy tendencies, his non-observant habits, his inattention to the small details of life, and his vacillating spirits required the steadiness of a more advanced companion. In this estimate of himself he exaggerated his own defects, according to his usual habit; but perhaps did no more than justice to the high qualities and "Roman character" of his wife.*

Before leaving Kiel, Niebuhr displayed that intuitive sagacity which is at once the fruit of a just appreciation of past history, and the most essential aid to such appreciation, by declaring, that in four years from November, 1794, a monarchy would be reëstablished in France.† The prediction was wrong by a single year. In later life, and when his judgment had been more matured, he would not have pretended to determine the times and seasons, which are with God. It is hazardous and imprudent to attempt to define in advance the exact period of great political events. The events themselves may be foreseen, but their periods cannot be foreknown, because, as they are dependent upon an infinitude of complicated, trivial, and even accidental causes, there are many incognizable circumstances to expedite or retard their occurrence, although the anticipations of men are usually more impatient than the impassive march of destiny.

* Letter xviii, p. 69.

† Letter xlii, p. 56.

From the university Niebuhr passed into the employment of Count Schimmelman, where, besides the ostensible duties of his office, he was often engaged in the delicate transactions of public affairs, which he managed with skill and discernment. But the gayeties and festivities of the minister's house accorded ill with Niebuhr's tastes and purposes. His retiring disposition, as well as other motives, rendered him averse to the elegant dissipations of high life, and the countess took umbrage at his absence from her parties. But the routine of frivolities encroached so seriously on the leisure hours which Niebuhr sought to devote to the prosecution of his studies, that his situation became equally unprofitable and unpleasant to himself, and he gladly accepted from Count Bernstorff the post of supernumerary Secretary to the Royal Library, with permission ultimately to travel abroad. He had been offered by France, and had declined, an appointment which would have gratified his ardent desire to visit the Eternal City—the scene and the subject of so many future labours. In August, 1797, a month or two after the close of his actual service with Count Schimmelman, that nobleman offered him the Consul-generalship at Paris; but the urgent claims of a man of greater age, experience, and longer public service secured the post before Niebuhr had rendered his decision. He suffered no disappointment; but rejoiced in his escape.

Niebuhr may have been rendered less solicitous about the promotion presented by the consulship to Paris, by the prospect at this time held out to him of an early appointment to a professorship at Kiel. The offer was indeed made to him three years later, after his return from England, his marriage, and his refusal of a chair at Copenhagen. At this time, however, it would have been grateful to him; he was looking forward to it in hope: and in the expectation of receiving it sketched for himself the outline of a course of study which should prepare him for the suitable discharge of his duties as a lecturer on Ancient Literature and Ancient History, the subjects of his early choice and of his subsequent distinction. In this sketch we discover the course which furnished him with the vast treasury of learning and information afterward employed in the composition of his Roman History. The fidelity of research, the exuberance of erudition, the comprehensiveness of view, which characterize that unrivalled production, are distinctly contemplated and provided for in this plan of proposed study. He intends to "read through all the ancient writings still extant, at least once, with the closest attention—the more important works many times; to acquire a profound and practical acquaintance with the grammar of the two classical languages;" to attain "a systematic philosophy,

as the groundwork of all settled convictions, and all accurate thought," and an orderly "method of thinking, writing, and studying;" to exercise himself in the art of composition, and gain a thorough command of his mother tongue.* These are the preliminary tasks to be executed before he "could accept a professorship in Kiel without a blush." We are doubtful whether there are not many of our American professors who are content to pass through their career without the twentieth part of these acquisitions, or any suspicion of their necessity.

Perhaps it was in prosecution of the course of study thus marked out for himself that we find Niebuhr, in the winter of 1797-8, dipping into the Byzantine historians, a new edition of whom he counselled and initiated in the closing years of his life.

The greater part of his life was, however, destined to be spent in far other scenes and occupations than the tranquillity and seclusion of collegiate duties. He had been contemplating, during the recent months, a visit to England, with the design of studying more carefully the physical sciences, which he had always treated with indifference, which he continued to neglect, and continually repented of neglecting. He had, however, still higher aims. No person ever attended more faithfully and assiduously to the never-ending duty of self-examination, self-education, and self-amelioration; and he was desirous, by throwing himself among the practical realities of English society, to strengthen his mental and physical energies, to learn self-reliance, to study the beatings of the great heart of society, and the functions of its internal economy, and to acquire a taste for the study and observation of nature.†

In London he spent four months, and proceeded to Edinburgh to pursue his studies at the university. Here he remained about a year. Notwithstanding his constant complaints of his want of observation, which, like the complaint of his idleness, would have been without any foundation, if applied to another man, he studied critically the character of both the English and the Scotch, and did not fail to distinguish acutely between the good and bad points of their national character and institutions. He imbibed, however, and ever retained, a high admiration of the integrity, sincerity, energy, and directness of the English, and admired their system of government, without yielding to the infatuation since so fatally exemplified on the European continent, of supposing that the sole desirable progress or reform consisted in the imitation of the jury trial and the representative system of England.‡ Notwithstanding his liberal

* Letter xxiv, p. 77.

† Niebuhr's Life, &c., p. 80. Letter liv, p. 111; lv, p. 112. ‡ Letter cviii, p. 186.

tendencies and his ardour in the cause of well-regulated freedom, he was not seduced by the Utopian dreams but licentious plans of the Prices, Priestleys, and Horne Tookes. He detected in the germ the evils that must ensue from such principles; he saw that the proposed benefits could not be realized; and the daily growing communion between anarchy and liberalism rendered him suspicious of the professions of the liberal party, and apprehensive of their progress.*

Niebuhr's residence and studies in Great Britain were undoubtedly of great advantage to him. He saw the cities of many men, and familiarized himself with the thoughts and habits of a strange people. He had gone abroad to correct failings in his own moral constitution which could only be remedied by change of scene, change of association, and the necessity of independent action. His hopes of future eminence were high, he felt intensely "capable of great things, and called upon to perform them;"† but he was aware of the obstacles to be overcome, and had resolutely occupied himself with their removal. He returned to Denmark with the assurance that "idleness and aimless occupation will henceforth be no longer possible;" with his "intellect calm and strong, with the consciousness of capacity for action and of being equal to his own requirements;" with "that sense of life, on whose intensity depends the practice of all that is right and noble."‡ He had shaken off the littleness and dreamy enthusiasm of his youth, and had become a man alive to the duties and realities of life.

A few months after his return, Niebuhr married his betrothed, Amelia Behrens, and settled at Copenhagen. He had been appointed Assessor at the Board of Trade for the East India Department, and Secretary and head clerk of the standing Commission of the affairs of Barbary. In his leisure hours he undertook to draw up an account of the various constitutions of Greece; a design which would have been exceedingly valuable if it had been accomplished by such hands, which might have diminished our regret for the loss of the Politics of Aristotle, and which had long been entertained by him. His wife's ill health, however, interrupted his studies. During the spring of next year he was present in Copenhagen during its bombardment by Lord Nelson. In the spring of 1802, the whole duties of the Board of Trade were devolved upon him by the resignation of his colleague; but he rejoiced in his employments, which won for him "a fair fame," and "the confidence even of the unlearned among his fellow-citizens." His multiplied engagements did not prevent the prosecution of his studies. He commenced at this time

* Letter xliii, p. 99.

† Letter xlv, p. 101; lix, p. 115; c, p. 177.

‡ Letter lxix, p. 123.

those examinations into the agrarian laws and the public domain of Rome, which afterwards produced a complete revolution in the sentiments of scholars on these subjects, and enabled him in his *Roman History* to place the characters and conduct in a just light, after centuries of obloquy and misapprehension. These topics he afterward declared to be the most arduous portion of his great historical labours, and they were certainly among the most original; yet it was in the midst of numerous and onerous public duties that these profound investigations were undertaken. So true is the observation of Quintilian, that the time for study will never be wanting to those who economize their hours.*

In 1804 Niebuhr became first director of the Bank of Copenhagen, a position of great honour, influence, and responsibility; but he still retained his connection with the Board of Trade, and with the Commission for the affairs of Barbary. In 1806 he was induced to leave Denmark by the proposal to enter on the joint-directorship of the first Bank of Berlin and the *Seehandlung*, a privileged company engaged in foreign commerce. He had no other reason to be dissatisfied with his situation in Copenhagen than his apprehension that the constant attention to mere matters of detail would permanently weaken the powers of his mind. He was already engaged in investigating the early history of Rome; and had published in the preceding year a translation of the *First Philippic* of Demosthenes, from a conviction that the career of Napoleon was recalling the times of Philip.

Niebuhr arrived in Berlin just in time to witness the subjugation of Prussia by Napoleon, and to participate in the anxieties and sufferings of the kingdom. He was obliged to retire with his family before the advance of the French armies to Stettin, to Dantzic, to Königsberg, to Memel. The functions which he had been invited to undertake were suspended during the commotion; and, if it had not been repugnant to his feelings and principles to abandon those who were in distress, he would have accepted some of the proposals which were made to him during these emergencies by Denmark, England and Russia. Instead of doing so he received an appointment in the Commissariat; which, however, he soon became anxious to resign in consequence of the dismissal of the minister, Stein. In April, 1807, he was entrusted by Count Hardenberg with the financial business of the Commissariat. His health sunk under his fatigues, exposures and anxieties. He was attacked with typhus fever, and for some time was in great danger. The misfortunes of Prussia continued to increase; in June the government was dissolved, and what remained

* Quintil. *Inst. Or.*, lib. xii, c. xi, §§ 16-19. This passage is too long for citation.

of the court retreated to Riga. Niebuhr now applied for his discharge, but was induced by pressing entreaties to retain his post. In the course of the next month peace was concluded, and Hardenberg removed from office at the instance of Napoleon. Niebuhr again sent in his resignation, which was not accepted, but refused with the highest marks of confidence by the king. During this delay he had been appointed by the king a member of the provisional committee of government, destined to supply temporarily the want of a regular ministry, by whose labours were performed those great constitutional reforms which so speedily resuscitated Prussia after all her recent calamities. In the winter of 1807 he was despatched from Memel to negotiate a loan in Holland, in order to meet the contributions exacted by the French. During the course of the ensuing summer he received credentials as Prussian minister to Holland. He was partially successful in effecting the object of his mission; and the circumstances of the times were such as to render any success almost a triumph. On his retirement from Holland in April, 1809, he spent some time with his relations in Denmark; but was recalled to official duties at Berlin. The administration of Hardenberg, in whom he had no confidence, was not satisfactory to him, and he requested a release from his ministerial duties, and in their stead a professorship in the new university about to be opened at Berlin. Hardenberg endeavoured to induce Niebuhr to withdraw his resignation, and it is said offered him the portfolio of Finance; but in vain. Niebuhr was resolute, and perhaps impracticable. He withdrew in great measure from government affairs, and received the appointment of historiographer, as the successor of the celebrated historian, Von Müller; but with the condition annexed that he should assist Count Hardenberg and his minister of finance with his counsel and advice when required.

The cares of business, as we have already seen, did not compel Niebuhr to intermit altogether either his studies or his original investigations; the turmoil of war and the honours of an embassy, however unfavourable to his pursuits, did not arrest them, or paralyze his ardour. During the changing scenes and anxieties through which he had passed since his removal to Prussia, he had been steadily engaged during his leisure hours in augmenting his literary acquisitions, or developing his views. In his letter to Baron Von Stein, written from Memel during the gloomiest period of the French invasion, he mingles with the discussion of state policy and cabinet changes, intimations of the Russian and Slavonic studies in which he had been engaged.* While ambassador in Holland he composed

* Letter xcv, p. 163.

those treatises which have been published in his posthumous miscellanies.* He was never idle: he was ever eagerly reaching after new branches of learning, or extending his acquaintance with those which he had already mastered.

The University of Berlin was opened in the autumn of 1810. The principal chairs were occupied by the most distinguished scholars of Germany. Of these, (besides Niebuhr,) Savigny, Schleiermacher, Buttmann and Heindorff have obtained universal reputation. Spalding is less known, but was scarcely less highly endowed in the estimation of his colleagues. The academical labours of Niebuhr were commenced by a series of lectures on Roman history, delivered gratuitously. They were original and learned beyond all anticipation, and successful beyond all hope. Instead of the class of college boys for whom they had been designed, they were attended by the most brilliant and intelligent audiences. The students were, indeed, present in large numbers, but by their side sat the members of the academy of Berlin, the professors of the university, dignitaries of state, men of high and established reputations, and public officers of all grades. Savigny, Schleiermacher, Spalding, Ancillon, Nicolavius, and Süven, sat upon the crowded benches, amazed, admiring and approving. Such an audience, and such auditors, reacted upon the impressible and sympathetic nature of the lecturer, and he proceeded with new animation to develop his novel views of the long misunderstood progress of a great people, and to gain new successes and additional renown. He had undertaken the exposition of a subject apparently threadbare; he pulled to pieces the old web, examined every thread in the warp and the woof, wove it again into new patterns, and presented to his hearers a narrative apparently new, from the happy disposition of the old materials, and the still happier employment of such as had been used before. But Niebuhr's development of Roman history was not only new, it was essentially true; and it was a sudden revelation, after long centuries of error, from which even the Romans themselves and their historians had not been free. Glareanus, Perizonius, Vico, and Beaufort had all expressed some degree of scepticism relative to the correctness of the representations of Roman history given by Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus: but they had done little more than to utter doubts, which had been feebly supported, and had passed into almost entire neglect. When Niebuhr commenced his lectures it might still be said of the history of Rome, as Lucan had said with a different meaning prophetically,

* Niebuhr's Life, p. 168.

"Huic omne Latinum
Fabula nomen erat."^o

But Niebuhr afforded full and ample reasons for scepticism; he adduced from the long array of the neglected authors of Latin literature, and from a more critical examination of the better known writers, evidences of error; and while pointing out the fallacies, he proceeded to reconstruct the truth in a manner which accorded better with the authorities, and harmonized with the laws and the experience of human progress. Savigny was distinctly in the right in declaring, after the delivery of the first lecture, that Niebuhr was opening a new era for Roman history. The result has shown that it was more; that it was a new era for all history.

The first draft of Niebuhr's lectures was undoubtedly very different from the work as completed; and, if we may judge from those lectures which have been latterly published from the notes of his hearers, far inferior to it in depth, comprehension, accuracy and learning. Still as the series at Berlin was delivered from written notes, while at Bonn he trusted entirely to his memory, we may well suppose that his earlier efforts were more carefully elaborated and less discursive than those of his later times. In the one period he had his reputation to acquire; in the other it was already won. Nevertheless, the outlines originally sketched underwent frequent changes and amplifications in successive editions, and were filled up and deepened by subsequent investigations. They contained, however, the enunciation of his novel views, and laid down the principles of his historical philosophy, and it is therefore appropriate to introduce at this place our observations on the great work, which he lived to revise more than once, but did not live to finish.

His Roman history was the labour of his life. His heart was wrapped up in it, all his studies converged toward it, and his reputation with posterity will rest almost entirely upon it, notwithstanding the various and valuable services which he rendered to his own generation as a statesman, financier, and diplomatist. His first wife, on her death-bed, (she died June 21, 1815,) requested, as the last favour, that he should finish his history whether she lived or died;† and, although grief at first, occupation and distraction afterward, and his own premature decease prevented the full accomplishment of the task, he always cherished it henceforth as a sacred duty, no less than as his true vocation.

Was the result worthy of the life-long effort? Was it such as to justify the devotion of Niebuhr's talents, erudition and time to its

^o Lucan, *Pharsal.*, vii, 391. We have substituted "erat" for "erit" in the quotation.

† Niebuhr's Life, p. 289.

accomplishment? Is the unfinished monument which he has left behind him an adequate achievement for the labours of such a man? The sentence of the learned has already been rendered; and, notwithstanding the cavils of some of his contemporaries, and the still subsisting disputes in regard to some of his positions, the judgment of scholars has been almost unanimous in regarding Niebuhr's History of Rome as the greatest of all acquisitions for the just comprehension of ancient history; and as constituting by itself a marked and brilliant era in the course of historical speculation.

Niebuhr's History of Rome is scarcely calculated to attract the admiration of any but professed scholars or conscientious historical students; nor are its high excellences apparent to any others. The necessary exuberance of the criticism renders it tedious, and exacts an amount of patient attention and continued appreciation which unpleasantly arrests the narrative, and renders its perusal irksome to those who do not undertake it as a regular study. And yet there are passages of true eloquence to be found in its pages; broad and comprehensive views which extend through the whole domain of time, and penetrate into the most recondite secrets of political and social organization. Ample as is the canvass afforded by the growth and progress of the conquerors of the world, (*terrarum dominis*,) full of incidents as is the story of their march to universal empire, Niebuhr, who regarded modern history as almost worthless,* has frequently and gracefully transcended the natural limits of his picture: and, while thus more effectually illustrating the fortunes of the Romans, has diffused a brilliant light over other nations, and over mediæval and recent times. One of the most remarkable characteristics of his great production is the fulness and semi-prophetic perspicuity of vision which is displayed throughout.

As the magic stone of eastern fable enabled the Calender to behold the vast treasures hidden in the bosom of the earth, so the perusal of Niebuhr's History dispels the clouds of darkness, and enables us, too, to penetrate into the secrets of time and the mysteries of national change. This merit, however, is not the most prominent or direct service rendered by him. Rome was his subject, and it is in connexion with Rome, that we must seek for his most immediate achievements.

What Cicero had undertaken as a Utopian dream in the dying agonies of the Republic, in order to recall his countrymen to a sense of patriotism and an admiration of the past, and at the same time to relieve his own deep mortification by the pleasure, so highly prized by Livy, of contemplating the fancied glories of a better age, Nie-

* Letter lxxxi, p. 143: "Modern history ne vaut pas le diable."

buhr undertook from the love of truth, and with the design of correcting error, and retracing the true lineaments of Roman development. Cicero drew the outlines of an imaginary republic and called it ancestral Rome. He worked the misplaced and misapprehended fragments of the traditionary institutions into a new and ideal structure. Niebuhr studied in the shattered remnants the true constitution of the state, in order to exhibit the life, explain the actions, expound the growth, and rectify the history of the Roman people. This is the central, though not the most obvious idea in Niebuhr's *History of Rome*. This was his great project of reconstruction. Around this all his other labours were clustered.

But, though such was the main purpose distinctly contemplated from the first, it was not the first accomplished; nor was it ever entirely completed. He lived long enough, however, to show what was to be done, and to show how it was to be done. The misconception of the constitutional usages, and the internal and external action of Rome in its maturity, was linked with and dependent upon a long series of errors and misrepresentations descending from the earliest to the very latest times. They reached far beyond the term which Niebuhr assigned for his own investigations; and their latest developments have not yet been exposed. The legends of a Trojan settlement in Italy, and of the Trojan origin of Rome; the ignorance and confusion relative to the races which inhabited the peninsula, and successively came in collision with the Romans; the mythical tales of the regal dynasty; the Sabine and Etruscan wars; the original organization and early revolutions of the state; the causes, consequences, and character of the revolt against the monarchy; the early relations of the patricians and plebeians; the real and the fabulous connexions with Greece; the comitia and the distribution of land; the domestic and foreign wars; their conduct and their effects; the condition of the citizens; the religion of the state; the jurisprudence and other institutions of the nation; the moral sentiment of the people; the changes of the constitution; the regulation of the calendar; the character of the public archives—all these exhibited so many different but connected occasions of error. They had never been justly apprehended by the incurious criticisms of the prejudiced and hasty rhetoricians who in ancient times had undertaken to write the history of Rome; and they had been misrepresented, and exhibited with a singular mixture of distorted truth and exaggerated fable by the successive generations of compilers who had copied from the earlier chroniclers.

The error and the injury do not terminate here. A like stream of misconception, varying in volume and character as it proceeds,

pervades the story of the later ages of the Republic, and of its transition to an imperial form. It runs through the chronicle of the empire, and leaves the last struggles of the universal monarchy unexplained and unintelligible. These later periods, however, are not included in Niebuhr's labours. A brief sketch of the empire down to the reign of Constantine is, indeed, afforded by his lectures; but his original investigations do not extend beyond the Punic wars.

The Roman history of Niebuhr has been too often regarded as merely a criticism, and it has not been sufficiently recognised that, however large a portion was devoted to the refutation of current error, the scope and purpose of the work was to create anew the narrative of Roman greatness. Diligently gathering together from all sources the multifarious materials which might serve for the illustration of his subject; collating, correcting, and combining his multitudinous authorities; never yielding to the prestige of a name, and never neglecting the least fragment which might elucidate a difficulty, he traced the occasion and explained the reception of the errors he exposed, and divined the truth from the reciprocal relations of the different types of falsehood. In this manner he was successful in separating the right from the wrong, in dispelling illusions by the evidence of the illusions themselves; and in disentangling the facts from the fables in which they were enveloped. By this difficult and delicate process of induction, which, in the first treatment of such a subject, could be safely handled only by a mind of wonderful sagacity, tenacity, and rigour, he pierced through the darkness which shrouded the earliest ages of Italy; through the fictions which hovered around the infancy of Rome; and through the ignorance and delusion which darkened her later history. Thus he distinguished between the old poetic legends and their actual significance: stripping the latter of its deceptive hues and false presentiment, and restoring the former to the grace and ideality of their native character. So far from destroying the poetry of the earlier ages, and reducing their rich imaginations to plain and prosaic reality, Niebuhr gave back to poetry what rightfully belonged to its dominion, and exhibited the legends in their legendary form. It was those who had combined, and those who still desired to combine, the heterogeneous elements of historic facts and mythical representations who crushed and annihilated both by their procedure. Niebuhr did full justice to both: it would have been strange if, with his imaginative tendencies, he had sacrificed the ideal in order to render vain his pursuit of the real. He only distinguished clearly between them, and left each in its own independent existence; thus meriting under a double title the credit of being,

"Primo pictor delle memorie antiche."

So far we have considered only Niebuhr's mode of gathering and dealing with his materials; attention should also be paid to the manner in which he adapted the negative procedure of criticism to the positive purposes of construction. In the discharge of the latter and higher function analogy was his principal instrument; but it was an analogical method so judiciously employed, and exercised on such a copious array of instances furnished by his ever-ready erudition, that it always resembled and was often identical with induction. Thus he introduced science into the domain of history: or rather achieved, what Vico had aspired to, the successful conversion of history into the form of science. In this most original portion of his labours his vast and varied learning, his intimate acquaintance with all branches of geography and history, his luminous practical philosophy, his diversified and extended familiarity with men and nations, with the machinery and operations of government, all contributed essential aid to his designs. In estimating the conduct of contemporary men, he tells us that he was in the habit of placing himself ideally in their position, and inquiring what course he should pursue with the same character, purposes, and opportunities, and that thus he had foreseen many of the details of Napoleon's career and campaigns.* He pursued a somewhat analogous mode of reasoning in reconstructing the history of Rome, endeavoured to place himself in the position of a contemporary of the times which he described, and then considered what must have been the action of the Romans to be in accordance with the national character, with the condition and powers of the people, and with the laws of social and political development. Thus, where his witnesses failed him, or were calculated to lead him astray, his philosophical method served as a conjuring rod to evoke the shades of departed generations, and to extract a true response from the dead. We have already intimated that the same prophetic faculty is required for the just interpretation of the past as for the divination of the future; and that Niebuhr's lively imagination was one of his highest qualifications as a historian. Both positions are illustrated and confirmed by the character and truth of his Roman history.

Niebuhr did not live to complete his task, nor even to prepare for publication the last volume which he composed; but he did all that was absolutely requisite to point out the true road to others. Perhaps even the earliest promulgation of his views in the University of Berlin might have been sufficient for this purpose; but he fortunately lived long enough to expand and elaborate his doctrines,

* Letter ccxc, p. 433.

and to extend his performance much beyond its original limits. Moreover, when we compare the meagreness, the want of accuracy, the insufficient citation of authorities which characterize his lectures as published from the notes of his pupils, with the richness, the faithful caution, and the exuberant erudition of his finished volumes, we must regard the completion of a part of his proposed task as equally requisite for an example and for the establishment of his own reputation.

Soon after the delivery of his first course of lectures, he began to prepare the first volume of his history for the press. It was printed toward the close of 1811, and met with general admiration and approval. During that winter he continued his lectures, and arranged a second volume for publication. It appeared in the course of 1812; but the gloom which enveloped the continent at that time denied to it at once the flattering reception which its author's temperament desired. He proceeded, however, with the composition of a third volume, but was interrupted in his labours by the exciting and agitating events which accompanied the insurgence of the Prussians against the French domination, after the disastrous termination of the Russian campaign. The Landwehr was called out; Niebuhr sent in his name as a volunteer, and commenced practising the manual exercise, though desiring to serve as secretary to the general staff, or to obtain a commission in the regular army. The king refused his request, but promised him more suitable employment. Swift, as a colonel of horse, would scarcely have been a more anomalous phenomenon than Niebuhr as a captain of Prussian grenadiers.

The king redeemed his promise; and, instead of leaving Niebuhr "to writing and to serving as a common soldier," as he complained that "fate had so ordained,"* he summoned him to Dresden in April, 1813, and placed him on the central commission appointed to administer the German provinces reconquered from France. The retreat of the French restored him to Berlin; but his political functions were continued by the draft of a constitution for Holland, which appears not to have been accepted. He was also requested to give instruction to the crown prince, in finance; an office which he discharged with pleasure, and so as to secure the grateful regards of his royal pupil.

Domestic and other cares, however, multiplied around him; the return of Napoleon from Elba agitated once more the continent, and interrupted Niebuhr's literary pursuits; the declining health of his wife required his constant attention; and in the midst of his anxie-

* Letter clxiv, p. 257.

ties the intelligence of the death of his father fell heavily and suddenly upon him. His wife's life was not prolonged much longer. She died in the summer of 1815. Niebuhr was deeply grieved at the loss of a wife he had so fondly and proudly cherished; but having been appointed ambassador to Rome, he solaced his wounded feelings, or provided for his official comfort, by marrying in the course of his year of mourning, Margaret Hensler, a near connexion of his departed spouse. During the period of his grief he prepared himself for his embassy by the diligent study of the canon law; wrote an admirable and affectionate biography of his father; united with Heindorf and Buttmann in editing the newly-discovered *Fronto*; and composed several essays on various subjects. In addition to these multifarious labours, he served as one of the royal commissioners for drafting a new constitution for Prussia.* His whole life was employed in occupations which enlarged his qualifications as a great historian; and trained him, by practical experience as a financier and a statesman, by personal observation of the scene of Roman life, by antiquarian research, linguistic accomplishments, and practice in composition, to become the best, the truest, the most comprehensive historian of Rome.

In July, 1816, Niebuhr commenced his pilgrimage to Rome as ambassador of Prussia. The instructions for the special mission on which he was sent should have followed him in a few weeks, but did not arrive for four years. When Hardenberg visited the pontifical city in February, 1821, he resigned to him the honour and credit of concluding the negotiations with the papal court; which had been rendered possible by the frankness, candour, and sincerity of his long intercourse with the high dignitaries of the Church and State, and by the esteem with which he had inspired them. In the May of 1823, after an absence of nearly seven years, he left the city of Consuls, Cæsars, and Popes, on his homeward journey. At the last moment, he abandoned it with regret. "It goes to my very heart," says he, "to think that this is the last letter I shall write you from Rome."† Everything appeared to him in brighter colours than before, when he was leaving the country, as he truly prognosticated, forever. But the health of his wife, and the prospects of his son, demanded, in his estimation, a return to Germany. He appreciated the advantages and the position he resigned; but his life had been in great measure free from ambition, and he estimated the private duties of life as more important than those which were public, except in extraordinary times.‡

On his journey to Rome, he discovered and partly deciphered at

* Letter cci, p. 301.

† Letter cccviii, p. 442.

‡ Life, p. 416.

Verona, the long-lost and inestimable Institutes of Gaius. He was in raptures at the discovery, for he appreciated its full importance. It has given birth to a new era in the study of Roman jurisprudence; and constitutes the most valuable of all recent additions to our stores of classic literature. In announcing to Savigny the treasure which he had unveiled, he writes, "Now, dear Savigny, here lies a treasure waiting for your hands to dig it up; a bait that shall lure you over the Alps to us. Or will you give the necessary instructions to Cramer to set to work? Or will you persuade some one else to come? You will never suffer this discovery, which is exactly what you have been wishing for so ardently, to be lost for the want of some one to make use of it."* The result of the discovery is familiar to every jurist and every scholar.

In Rome he discovered among the palimpsests fragments of Cicero's orations, of Livy, Seneca, and Hyginus; and on his homeward journey detected among the MSS. of the ancient library at St. Gall, (so celebrated in the middle ages, and illustrated at the restoration of learning by Poggio Bracciolini's discovery there of the MS. of Quintilian,†) the Panegyrics of Merobaudes, which he edited a second time for the Bonn edition of the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Byzantinæ*. He, perhaps, over-estimated the value of these fragments, which are often unintelligible from mutilation, and rarely instructive; but we can readily sympathize with him in the motives of his exultation.

There are many interesting circumstances connected with Niebuhr's residence in Rome which we should gladly notice did our space permit; the kindness and countenance which he showed to poor strangers; the cordial encouragement and friendship which he extended to the young German artists, who afterward created a brilliant school of art in Germany; his protection and patronage of our estimable and learned friend, Dr. Lieber, on his hazardous return from the Phil-Hellenic campaign in Greece; his domestic life and recreations; his social intercourse with the papal court and with all who could worthily claim his regards; his reception of Von Stein, Hardenberg, and the crown prince of Prussia; his studies, and his opinions; but we have not the time to dwell upon them. They may be learnt from the letters written during this period, from the Chevalier Bunsen's interesting sketch of Niebuhr as a diplomatist in Rome, appended to this volume, and from Lieber's reminiscences of Niebuhr.

* Letter cexiii, p. 320.

† A. D. 1416. *Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini*, c. iii, p. 97-104. Spalding, *Præf. ad Quintilian*.

On his return to Prussia, Niebuhr visited Bonn for the purpose of renewing his acquaintance with his friend and former secretary, Professor Brandis. He was so much pleased with the city, that he determined to select it as his future residence. He recommenced the prosecution of his history, which had not been continued during his mission to Rome; but was interrupted first by his own indisposition, afterward by sickness in his family. In May, 1824, he returned to Berlin; and during the summer resigned his place as ambassador, having heretofore obtained only leave of absence, and not a release from his diplomatic post. He was allowed a retiring pension equivalent to his salary before leaving Berlin; and with this for his support, intended to settle his family permanently at Bonn, but he was employed some time longer in the service of government, as a councillor of State, and afterward as commissioner to deliberate on the organization of a national bank, and to reform the tenure of land among the Westphalian peasantry.

As soon as he was released from these official duties, Niebuhr retired to Bonn, and there spent the scanty remainder of his life. Without having any official appointment in the young university of that city, he delivered regular courses of lectures on the history and antiquities of Greece and Rome, which were continued till the period of his death. In the October of 1825, after the long intermission of ten years, he resumed methodically the composition of his great history. Other associations and anxieties had arrested his labours before: and even now he was destined not to continue them to their close. His friend and pupil, Professor Haysen, revised and prepared for publication the manuscript of the third volume, so often commenced, so often interrupted.

"Bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro;
Bis patriæ cecidere manus."

It was not twice only, but many times that Niebuhr's hands had been compelled to desist from their labour, which remained in the end unfinished. Still during three years much was done. The MS. of the third volume was very nearly perfected, and a new and much improved edition of the two already published was issued from the press.

The history of Rome did not so entirely engross Niebuhr's attention as to prevent him from entertaining other literary enterprises. He originated a new edition of the Byzantine historians; wrote a prospectus of the undertaking, and contributed to the collection editions by himself of Agathias Merobaudes, Constantinus Porphyrogenitus De Cœrimonis, with the unpublished portions of

Reiske's Commentary, and of the Fragments of Eunapius, Menander, &c. The project, if it had been properly executed, was calculated to render essential service to historical science. There was no complete edition of the numerous and unequal writers who illustrate copiously the whole history of the Byzantine empire, from the foundation of Constantinople by Constantine the Great, to its capture under Constantine Palæologus; there is no such edition even yet. The imperfect collections issued from the royal press at Paris, and republished at Venice, were rare, expensive, and cumbrous. The separate editions of the various authors were costly, of very unequal merit, and of difficult attainment. The Bonn edition is more complete, convenient, and moderate in cost than its predecessors. It is not yet finished, but may drag its slow length along for another generation, at its present rate of increase.

Madame Niebuhr's health was a cause of much uneasiness to her husband: and other distresses and anxieties multiplied around him. On the night of the 6th of February, 1830, his house in Bonn was burnt down. His books, and the manuscript of a revised copy of the second volume of his history were fortunately saved from the flames. While calmly watching the progress of destruction, he had exclaimed, "If only the manuscript of the second volume of my Roman history is found again, I can get over everything else." The foundations of a new and larger house were laid, but Niebuhr did not live to enjoy it. The French Revolution of July broke out; it was a crushing blow to one whose whole being was so deeply impregnated with gloomy anticipations of the future. It confirmed all his forebodings. He had long regarded European civilization as in a state of hopeless decline; at times he had struggled successfully to shake off this conviction, but the new outburst of revolution recalled, and deepened his forebodings. He anticipated the ultimate establishment of a military despotism in France; the convulsion, anarchy, and rebellion of the German States; and the final domination of Russia. He saw that the revolution commenced threatened social order, and the institution of property, and he looked forward to the repetition of the scenes of decaying Rome. Subsequent events have justified his apprehensions, and verified his previsions. The history of the last ten years, and of the coming ten is written in his last letter to Moltke, and is illustrated by the scattered views diffused through his earlier letters and other writings. What he shuddered to see in the visions of his imagination, he was spared from witnessing in the reality. Death dropped the curtain on the scene.

The deep interest which Niebuhr took in the developments of the

second French Revolution, and especially in the trial of the ex-ministers, led him every evening to the public reading-rooms, to look carefully over the papers after the crowd had finished their perusal. On the evening of Christmas day, he had been thus employed for a long time in the news-room, which was very hot and close, without taking off his thick fur cloak. The piercing frost of the wintry night received him on his return home, heated in mind and body. He complained of a severe chill, and retired at once to bed; which he never left again, except for a single hour. An illness of one week carried him to the grave. Two days before his death, his wife, broken in spirits, strength and health, was obliged to leave him, and betake herself to a sick bed. "Hapless house!" exclaimed Niebuhr, with his usual presentiment of the future, when apprised of the cause of her absence, "to lose father and mother at once!" About midnight of the 1st of January, 1831, he sank back on his pillow, conscious of his rapidly approaching end, and in another hour was at rest forever.

Nine days later, and at nearly the same hour of the night, his wife expired. Pneumonia was the immediate occasion of the death of both; but a broken spirit was the ultimate cause of the decease of the husband, and a broken heart of that of the wife. They were buried in one grave, over which a monument has been erected by the present king of Prussia to the memory of his teacher, his councillor, and his friend.

We cannot prolong our remarks by gathering together into a focus the characteristics of Niebuhr. We must forego the pleasure of expatiating on the integrity, simplicity, and sincerity of his nature; the unaffected kindliness and fidelity of his disposition; his firm, frank, and generous temper; his contempt of meanness; his enthusiasm in the cause of right; his warm and genial affections; his simple tastes; his fondness for children; his sobriety of thought and judgment; and those other high qualities which constitute, not a perfect, but a truly good man. He was one of the rare instances in which greatness was achieved through the instrumentality of goodness, and whose goodness was not impaired by his greatness.

ART. IV.—JEPHTHAH'S VOW.

THE supposed immolation of Jephthah's daughter has been strenuously urged, by the oppugners of divine revelation, as a capital objection to the morality of the Bible. This consideration alone is sufficient to invest the exposition of Judges xi, 29-40, with the highest importance. The usual interpretations of that deeply interesting narrative may be resolved into two opposing theories—that of *immolation* and that of *consecration*. Among divines and Biblical critics, distinguished names of equal eminence for talent, piety, and intelligence, are found arranged in support of both these theories of interpretation; while Josephus, it is well known, positively asserts the immolation of the daughter of this judge in Israel. To this theory of exposition Dr. Kitto not only subscribes, but assumes the personal responsibility of the doctrine contained in the article "Jephthah," as it is not credited to any of the learned contributors to the "Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature." That the authority of such a name, on either side of the question, is not inconsiderable, will not be questioned. But the question, as to the nature of this vow, must, after all, be decided, not by authority, but by the weight of argument in support of the assumed facts in the case. This will justify a careful re-examination of the whole matter, together with Dr. Kitto's argument in support of the immolation hypothesis.

There are two sources of difficulty in determining the real character of the vow—the extreme brevity of the narration, and the remoteness of the period when the event occurred. Its high antiquity invests it with a degree of obscurity which the brief reference of the historian leaves quite unremoved. And that either of the current hypotheses is entirely unembarrassed is more than can be claimed. But left to the necessity of balancing probabilities, and of choosing between alternatives, that theory of exposition will command our concurrence which presents the fewest difficulties, and which is sustained by the highest probability.

That there is a connexion, intimate and vital, if not inseparable, between the character of Jephthah and the nature of his vow, will not be disputed. And what this was, is more easily determined than some other points in the narrative; since what was left obscure by the sacred historian has been amply cleared up by the inspired apostle. From his character, then, we assume that his vow was a pious act. It was indisputably such in his own intention, and such,

also, as to the circumstances under which it was made. Both go to establish his piety, while the latter were more marked and solemn. Let us briefly recount them. He was summoned from his retreat in Tob to the headship of the martial forces of Israel in repelling the invasion of the Ammonites. The specified conditions on which he had consented to take the direction of affairs at this critical juncture were acceded to by the people, and the covenant between him and them had been confirmed by an oath. The whole transaction had been recounted "before the Lord in Mizpeh." The attempt to terminate the invasion by negotiation proving abortive, and "the Spirit of the Lord" coming upon him, he promptly addressed himself to the arduous work of vanquishing the invaders, and of retrieving the fortunes of his country. His chief reliance for success was upon the arm of God. To secure the favour of Heaven upon the enterprise, and as a proof of his confidence in that favour, he made the vow in question.

Granting the piety of the act, where is the proof that his piety was not as enlightened and rational, at least for his times, and the dispensation under which he lived, as it was ardent and confiding? Of the pure and elevated character of his faith we have the testimony of the apostle, Heb. xi, 32. He is placed with David, Samuel, Gideon, Barak, and Samson, all honourable as being eminent examples of "faith." But how does this testimony to this eminent grace accord with the hypothesis that he immolated his daughter? On this theory, here is an act and a trait of character utterly irreconcilable! On this supposition he must have sacrificed her either to Moloch, the heathen god of the Ammonites, the hated enemies of the Hebrews, or to the God of Israel. That human sacrifices were offered to Moloch is an undisputed fact in sacred history. The law of the Hebrews (Lev. xviii, 21) specifically inhibited them from causing their children to "pass through the fire" to this god. How absurd to suppose that despicable as the Ammonites were to the Israelites on account of their gross idolatry and its cruel rites, now doubly so by this unprovoked invasion of the inheritance given their fathers, that this judge, prince, and general should first consult the God of his fathers, and then sacrifice his daughter to the revengeful god of his enemies! Where is the evidence that either in making or in paying his vow he copied the example of these most besotted idolaters? Besides, he was well versed in the history of Divine providence toward the Canaanites who were exterminated for their idolatry. Neither could he need instruction as to the requisitions of the law respecting sacrifice. He knew that *human* sacrifice would be even a greater abomination to God than that of any

unclean animal. Hence it is not conceivable that he should obligate himself, in any contingency which might arise, in making a vow to the Lord, to do that to *secure* the divine favour which he knew must be most *offensive* to him. How could he have acted so preposterous a part as to have offered his daughter to Moloch, or to have offered *such* a sacrifice to the Jehovah? And that there must have been some qualification to his vow, latent or implied, beyond what appears in the narrative, is evident from the absurdity of taking the words of the vow in their literal acceptance. On his return some *person* might have "come first out of the doors of his house," over whom he had no legal control; some neighbor, man or woman. His vow of course could not embrace them. It might be a *dog*, or some unclean animal, in which case it could not be offered, but must be redeemed, and the price devoted to a sacred purpose. Such a conditionality in his vow, implied if not expressed, must have been involved.

This conditionality will be evinced by a reference to the Hebrew text. It cannot be denied that the particle *ve*, *and*, is used both in a copulative and disjunctive sense by Hebrew writers. See Exod. xxi, 17, and Lev. xxvii, 28. Separating the pronoun from the rest, and referring it to "Lord" as its antecedent, and leaving out "for," which is not in the Hebrew, the passage literally rendered would be: "shall be the Lord's; or I will Him a burnt-offering." In the Septuagint it stands thus: *ἔσται τῷ κυρίῳ, ἀντίσω αὐτὸν ὀλοκαύτωμα*. Judges xi, 31.

But says Dr. Kitto: "The explanation which denies this [the immolation of Jephthah's daughter] maintains that she was rather doomed to perpetual celibacy; and this it appears to us, on the strength of phrases which, to one who really understands the character of the Hebrew people and their language, suggests nothing more than that it was considered a lamentable thing for any daughter of Israel to die childless. To *live* unmarried was required by no law, custom, or devotement among the Jews; no one had the right to impose so odious a condition on another, nor is any such condition implied or expressed in the vow which Jephthah uttered."

This passage contains the strength of the argument of the doctor for immolation. An important concession is, at least, implied in the statement: "That it was considered reproachful for any daughter of Israel to die childless." And if the advocates of the *consecration* hypothesis can show that the perpetual celibacy of Jephthah's daughter would be in accordance with the provisions of the law of Moses, they may claim possibility for their exposition. Should

they be able to show this state highly probable, they advance another step toward certainty in their conclusion.

Consulting the law of a Nazarite, Num. vi, 2-12, it is clear that woman as well as man might come under its provisions: "When either man or woman shall separate themselves to vow a vow of a Nazarite, to separate themselves unto the Lord," &c. From this glance at the preface to this law, which, to save space, we do not transcribe, two things are clear: 1. That the vow of a Nazarite was common to both sexes. 2. That all who took it upon them were consecrated or "separated unto the Lord." It was a setting apart, a separation from things secular, a devotion to things sacred, a consecration exclusively to the service of God. When we take into consideration that this law, a statute of Moses, had been in force in Israel some three hundred years, it lends no feeble support to the hypothesis that this daughter of Israel was in some such way "separated unto the Lord." Nor is the probability materially impaired by the fact that so little is said in Jewish history respecting the Nazariteship of women. It is enough that they were embraced by the law regulating that state. And who can show that celibacy was not held obligatory upon all who entered into the Nazarite vow during the term of its continuance? If this cannot be done, the probability cannot be denied, nor is there the least absurdity in the admission of its high probability. And the phrase, "it was a custom in Israel," verse 39, may refer to female Nazarites: because it may as legitimately relate to the declaration respecting Jephthah's daughter immediately preceding, as to an entirely different subject in verse 40. In Dr. Clarke's note on the passage the reader will find this reference adopted by that eminent commentator.

The argument on this point—that one *had* the right among the Jews of "imposing so odious a condition as celibacy upon another"—will be strengthened to a degree little short of conclusiveness by a glance at that section of the law which provides for the consecration, by vow, of a *child*, by its father, to the service of God. It is contained in Lev. xxvii, under the title of a *singular vow*. The law provides for the estimation of the amount at which the child or the adult might be exonerated from the personal discharge of such vow by a commutation in money, as an equivalent for the service due, whether the devotement was made by the parent or by the individual himself. The estimation contemplated three distinct periods, which, taken together, would amount in aggregate to the whole effective term of ordinary life. The period most available for effective service is first estimated, namely, from twenty to sixty years of age. As

this term of forty years was in that age, and still is, by far the most vigorous and useful in life, the estimated commutation is more than twice that of any other term of years estimated. The next period estimated was from five to twenty years of age; the next from one month to five years. Thus from one month to five years, from five years to twenty, from twenty to sixty, were the three periods for which an estimate providing for commutation in the discharge of a vow was fixed by law. What might remain of life above sixty years of age would be uncertain as to its duration, and as to the vigour of the person, under the accumulating pressure of infirmities; leaving the amount of available service extremely contingent. Hence, in foresight of this, though an amount in commutation is named, a *proviso* is added for abatement on the plea of inability to pay—a question to be decided by the priests. Lev. xxvii, 3-8.

From this it is not clear that the father by vow might consecrate his child to the service of God, or his sanctuary, from the age of one month to twenty years, or during life? Nor can there be a reasonable doubt that it lay in his own breast to make such singular vow more or less stringent. And, for aught that appears, he might impose upon his daughter the obligation of perpetual celibacy; if, indeed, this were not necessarily included in her "separation to the Lord." Her standing in this relation to God may have been deemed of itself incompatible with the conjugal relation. If this were included in the vow as such, there could be no release during the child's minority, except at the instance of the father; and then only by paying the estimated commutation. After reaching its majority, and after the death of the parent, the person under the vow might be released at his or her option by paying the estimation. But whether the parent or the child at any age would use this legal provision, would depend upon contingencies which will readily suggest themselves to the reflecting reader.

Once more. An important distinction should here be noticed between the "singular vow," in Lev. xxvii, 2, and the "devoted thing," in verse 28. The former might be cancelled by paying the legal estimate or commutation. The devotement admitted of no such exoneration. All vows seem to have been included in these two classes; and to which that of Jephthah belonged remains to be seen. A reference to the original will show that both in Judges xi, 30, where his vow is described, and in Lev. xxvii, 2, where we have the law providing for commutation as above explained, נדר *ne-der*, a vow, is the word used. In verse 28 we have חרם *herem*, a devotement, a thing devoted to a good or bad purpose. This distinction is equally marked in the Septuagint; ἐνχρῆν, a vow, occurs in the

two former passages, while in the latter we have ἀνάθημα, a thing or person devoted to holy purposes, a victim devoted to destruction. In the former case the vow admitted of commutation; in the latter the devotement must be inviolate. To this the Vulgate also corresponds, having *votum*, a vow, in the two former passages, and *quod consecratur*, a consecrated or devoted thing, in the latter. Hence it is clear that Jephthah's vow belonged to the class of commutable vows. We also learn that it was competent for the father to bind his child by his vow from the age of one month to five years, or to the end of life, from the personal obligation of which exoneration could be obtained only by conformity to the provisions of law. These facts, brought to the exposition of this interesting narrative, shed much light upon some of its obscure statements. Thus, when she met her father, who stated what had passed his lips, from which he said "he could not go back," she promptly declared her cheerful and hearty concurrence; in which, whether she appeared more *filial* or *pious*, it is not easy to determine.

Comparing the law of a Nazarite with the law respecting a "*singular vow*," any one can see how far Dr. Kitto is warranted in saying: "To live unmarried was required by no law, custom, or devotement, among the Jews." Because for this to be "required" is one thing; and for continuance in this state to be *incidental* to the subject of a "*singular*" or Nazarite vow, made and executed under the provisions of law, "in such cases made and provided," is quite another. The denial of this is more than any advocate of the immolation hypothesis would be willing to aver.

The remark of Dr. Kitto, that "to get rid of a difficulty which has no place in the text, but arises from our reluctance to receive that text in its obvious meaning, we invent a new thing in Israel—a thing never heard of among the Hebrews, in ancient or modern times, and more opposed to their peculiar notions than anything the wit of man ever devised;" if it contain argument at all, contains something besides argument. As to getting "rid of a difficulty," are there none on the immolation hypothesis? Does an open sea spread out in the direction of that theory? When the commendation of Jephthah's faith by the apostle is harmonized with the immolation exposition, it will be time enough to inquire how the advocates of the consecration interpretation "get rid of the difficulties in the text." The reader will judge whether the advocates of immolation or consecration are more justly open to the imputation of extravagant and witty inventions. It is generally unfortunate for such sweeping assertions that they may be retorted with all their

force upon those who utter them. They prove nothing, unless naked assertion is proof. But why, on the immolation hypothesis, did Jephthah's daughter request a respite of "two months, that she might go up and down upon the mountains, and bewail her virginity with her fellows?" Who can help inquiring, Why not much rather bewail her *death*? Her own allusion to her virginity—rather, her celibacy—with the reference to it in the next two verses, admitting her immolation, makes a mere circumstance more deplorable than the loss of life itself! If this would not be to magnify "the weaker into the stronger reason," it is inconceivable what should be so regarded.

"Reluctance to receive the text in its obvious meaning," may be retorted with double stringency upon the advocates of immolation. Why evince so much "reluctance" to *relinquish* an interpretation of a dark and difficult passage in an isolated and brief narrative, especially when such interpretation, called the "obvious meaning," so manifestly neutralizes and outrages all just claims to *piety* on Jephthah's part; substituting for it the grossest superstition of the most blind and reckless worshipper of Moloch, thus coming in direct and open conflict with all the purest and deepest sentiments of the paternal heart: and this allowed to pass, not only without a word of reprobation, or even so much as one allusive censure by the inspired writers, but the faith of this judge of Israel receiving in the meantime the highest commendation! If difficulties like these rank not among the "insuperable," we cannot imagine what should be so considered. And all, let it be remembered, is based upon the interpretation of a solitary Hebrew text which some of the most celebrated Biblical critics and commentators maintain is susceptible of a translation more literal, involving no such consequences: for it is obvious that all that is said in allusion to this vow, after the statement of the utterance of the vow itself, accords quite as well with the consecration exposition, to say the least, as with the immolation hypothesis. It is passing strange, though true, that a seeming predilection for the marvellous and the tragical should maintain such a dominion over the popular mind; a propensity which is greatly cherished by giving this Scripture narrative what is claimed to be the "obvious meaning." Could it be shown that the view which strikes the great mass of ordinary readers really favours immolation—which we are not prepared to concede—this should still go for nothing, yea, less than nothing, in opposition to a sober, intelligent, critical investigation of the *law* and the *facts* in the case: because to substitute the "obvious" for the critical import of a passage of Scripture, would be at once to repudiate all

research and intelligent Biblical exegesis; to transfer our confidence for the needful guidance on all questions of intricacy, doubt, or difficulty, from the learned, laborious, and scrutinizing, to the mass of unscrupulous and superficial readers; persons who are wont to take up first impressions instead of tracing out ultimate truths, or comparing separate acts or principles with the analogy of faith or consistency of character; seldom searching below the surface for a solid foundation for the superstructure of their opinions. It would be to adopt a maxim in Biblical exposition fatal to truth on all great questions relative to religion, politics, the arts and sciences—questions involving the most vital interests of mankind; a doctrine to which, when placed in a clear light, Dr. K. would be the last to subscribe. Hence we are compelled to dissent from his position, both as respects the conclusion he arrives at, and the reasoning by which it is reached. "But," he adds, "the more the plain rules of common sense have been exercised in our views of Biblical transactions; and the better we succeed in realizing a distinct idea of the times in which Jephthah lived, and of the position he occupied, the less reluctance there has been to admit the interpretation which the first view of the passage suggests to every reader, which is, that he really did offer her in sacrifice."

On this we remark, finally, that while we go for the adoption of the "plain rules of common sense" in ascertaining correct "views in Biblical transactions," and for "realizing a distinct idea of the times and position of Jephthah," we have *more* instead of "less reluctance" to admit an interpretation of his vow which involves the morality of an act of one so highly commended by an inspired writer, and thus confirming the captious sceptic in his cavil against the morality of the Bible, whatever may chance to have been our "first" view of the matter; especially when a more comprehensive critical investigation of the whole subject compels us to exonerate this honoured parent from so vile an imputation. With us vastly more reliance should be placed upon sober, intelligent, patient, sacred thought, in such examples of obscurity and difficulty, than upon mere first views; not, however, because we esteem the "plain, common sense first views of ordinary readers" *less*, but because we appreciate the diligent research, the rigid and enlightened scrutiny of the pious, intelligent, critical Biblical student *more*. On this ground we cheerfully place the two theories, leaving the reader to decide the issue.

ART. V.—THE GEOLOGY OF WORDS.

1. *Trench on the Study of Words.* New-York: 12mo., pp. 236.
2. *Epea Pteroenta, or the Diversions of Purley.* By JOHN HORNE TOOKE.
3. *Fowler on the English Language.* New-York: Harper & Brothers; 8vo., pp. 675.
4. *Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanisms.* New-York: 8vo.
5. *Richardson's English Dictionary.* London: 4to.

WHEN an ordinary workman digs out from the quarry a block of sand-stone, it may seem to him but so many square feet of rock that may be used in building a wall. If his attention should be attracted to the curious marks that appear on its surface, they will do little more than excite a momentary curiosity. But let the keen eyes of a Hugh Miller or an Agassiz rest upon this rock, and it becomes instantly a record of the deepest significance. These mysterious marks become hieroglyphics instinct with meaning; and in tracing them out there is revealed the history of an undated past. In the curling surface of the rock the geologist detects the ripple-marks that tell the story of an ancient sea that rolled its peaceful waves along the beach during the long, still summer night, and of the morning breeze that covered gently with the sifted sand the traces of this rippling tide, and sealed them up in perpetual remembrance. In the dotted marks that indent it, he sees the trace of the pattering rain-drops that came suddenly down from the summer sky upon the smooth, dry strand, and passing quickly away, left braided on the retiring cloud that beautiful bow that was afterward selected by God as the symbol of hope to man. And as he looks yet closer, he finds the footprints of living things that have here daguerreotyped themselves to distant generations. A yet further examination reveals to him the very forms of the ancient dwellers in these waters; entombed in this enduring sarcophagus, and presenting in strong hieroglyphics at once their biography and their epitaph. In the structure of their jaws, and the contents of their stomachs, they betray the nature of their food; in the forms of their fins and skeletons, they evince their habits; and in the attitude of terror, resistance and struggle that they bear, they tell the story of a sudden and violent death. There rises thus to the reading eye the picture of this ancient world, with its swarming tribes of life; now gambolling in the sunshine; now fleeing in terror before the tempest and the earthquake, and now lashing the waves into foam in the fury of their deadly and terrible contests. Other

fossils will tell him the story of a more advanced period in the earth's history. In the stomachs of the huge saurians that he finds, are yet preserved the undigested remains of the enormous reptile, the capture of which demanded that terrible combat, which in the end may have cost the victor his life, by a fit of saurian dyspepsia. In others he finds the remains of the very vegetables and trees whose enormous fossils are built into the coal measures, or deposited beside the unwieldy frame that once devoured them. As the geologist gazes on these stony pictures, there rise to his eye those ancient forests and marshes, with their towering tree ferns waving like queenly palms in the hot and mephitic atmosphere; reeds that stand like the mast of "some tall admiral;" and huge club-mosses shooting fifty feet in the air; while rolling their ponderous bulk in the tepid waters, or browsing lazily amid this gigantic herbage, are reptiles to which the crocodile of the Nile is but a whisking lizard, and forms of mylodon, megatherium and dinotherium, that seem but the horrid creations of the sick man's dream.

All this history, and much more, is written in these stony annals of the past; and yet generation after generation might quarry, and hew, and build these rocky registers, in utter ignorance of their wonderful contents. Hugh Miller, the mason, might have used these rocks as building stone just as well, if Hugh Miller, the geologist, had never discovered them to be the archives where God had deposited the history of a world.

Now precisely the same state of facts exists in regard to the words that we use in daily life. They have been formed in the remote past. They have lived in other elements of thought, and served other uses of action than the present. They have mingled with the changes of human history, and contain imbedded in their structure a record of these changes, which a careful inspection will enable us to trace with great distinctness. Words are in truth the fossils of history; embalming in their very structure the record of facts that have found no other memorials. Their value in this respect has only been fully known in our own day, that has given birth to the science of comparative philology. This science, by comparing the various languages of the earth, is detecting facts of history and ethnology that have found no other record. It is yet in its infancy; but the results already reaped give promise of a rich harvest when more abundant materials for its use shall have been collected.

It is not our purpose to attempt a sketch of this young science, nor is it needful for our present design. They who are ignorant of all languages but their own may find much to interest and instruct

in studying that, even though they never venture into the tangled thicket of comparative philology. Indeed, it has been well said that "the discovery that words are living powers has been to many a man like the dropping of scales from his eyes; like the acquiring of another sense, or the introduction to a new world."

Our object is rather to induce those who have turned but little attention to this subject, to devote more careful study to it, by giving some insight into the treasures contained in words. Could we be assured that Trench's little volume on "the Study of Words" was known generally to our readers we should deem a further prosecution of this subject comparatively needless, for some of our best illustrations have been taken from its pages. But as the study of words has usually been esteemed a very dry topic, this most entertaining and instructive volume has probably been but little read by the masses; while the *Diversities of Purley* is a book of which even literary men often know but little beyond the title. It is our purpose to endeavour to show that dry as this subject seems generally, it may, like the dry carcass of the lion that Samson slew, contain a hidden treasure of sweetness; that very valuable uses may be made of words beyond their use in speaking and writing; and for these ends, to select from any source facts suitable for our purpose without giving in each case a formal acknowledgment of the author or the book. If the profound philologist shall consider some of our illustrations common-place, and some of our etymologies questionable, we hope that he will remember that the commonest things are those that most men overlook; and that there exists the widest room for difference of opinion as to the etymologies of words, and that even a doubtful etymology may illustrate a true principle.

To give a notion of the subject in hand, let us select a simple illustration. Take, for example, an every-day transaction, the dating and signing of a letter. The words "dating," "signing," and "letter," have wrapped up in them certain historical facts. We have derived the word "date" from the Roman custom of inscribing a letter as "*datum*," "given" on a certain day; though the custom has been long laid aside; the word "signing," from the ancient use of the signet-ring, and the later custom of our illiterate ancestors in making the sign of the cross in place of their names, which they were unable to write; and the word "letter," from the Latin *littera*, which again is from *lino*, in allusion to the use of waxen tablets in writing. All these words indicate our connexion with old Rome, through a rude and uncultivated ancestry. But the same fact is yet further embodied in the date. The amazing power of Rome in impressing her practical organizations on the world, and her mission

thus in human history, is seen in the fact that we adopt her calendar, deriving the very word from the kalends, or calling days, in which the augurs proclaimed kalenda, or called out the beginning of another month. The name of the month that we write is Roman, and embodies some fact in Roman life, either the name of a god, like the months of Janus, (January,) Mars, (March,) Maia, (May,) or Juno, (June;) or a religious ceremony, like February, from *februo*, to lustrate or purify; or a climatic fact, like April, that records the opening (*aperio*) of the leaves; or the two great Cæsars, Julius and Augustus; or the fact that the old Romulian year began in March and consisted of but ten months, in the numerical designation of the four closing months of the year. The names of the days of the week also carry us back to Rome, but indicate that we have received this notation through a Teutonic ancestry, where the *dies solis* became Sun-day; *dies lunæ*, Mo(o)n-day; *dies Martis*, Tuis-co's-day; *dies Mercurii*, Woden's-day; *dies Jovis*, Thor's-day; *dies Veneris*, Freia's-day; and *dies Saturni*, Saturn's-day. And it may be a betrayal of the ignorance of our fathers, that while the Roman arrangement was astronomical, or rather astrological, the Teutonic nomenclature was adopted as if it was purely mythological, and governed by the names of the Scandinavian divinities. In the date of the year we record that awful fact in the world's history, that God was made manifest in flesh, and dwelt incarnate on earth. And in most cases, the name of the place where we date from has some historic relations, and will connect us with some person or place of the past, either in the old world, or the new, that determined the adoption of this name. It will thus be seen that as we look into the most familiar words, we find fossilized facts, one within another, each carrying us further back toward the remote and unrecorded past.

There is much curious history, doubtless, wrapped up in names, now irrecoverably lost. The very fact that surnames become necessary embodies an historical fact. A *sur*-name or *super*-name, is simply an added name, and implies the arising of reasons for this addition. In feudal times, a single name only was necessary, as is practically the case now among the slaves of the South, because the legal relations of the serf did not demand any more specific designation. As the feudal system began to disintegrate, and the enlarged intercourse of the people united with their enlarged rights to give importance to particular persons, it became necessary to adopt some expedient to distinguish between different individuals. Among the Romans, we find a system, which, like everything else about that wonderful people indicates that tendency to compact

organization that was so striking a feature in their national life. The Roman citizen had three names, the first, or *prænomen*, indicating the individual, the second, or *nomen*, the *gens* or clan, and the third, or *cognomen*, the family. Thus in Marcus Tullius Cicero, Marcus is the individual name, Tullius indicates his descent from the Tullian *gens* or clan, and Cicero, the particular family of that *gens* from which he descended. Such a methodical nomenclature obviously indicates an advanced state of civil and political life. But it is otherwise with our surnames. They indicate no settled conditions of life, no definite relations of families; but a state of transition in which mere accident determined the choice of the name. The simplest and perhaps earliest designations would be those of relation. Thus from the sons of Robert, John, William, &c., we have Robertsons, Johnsons, Williamsons, Jamisons, Thomsons, Dicksons, Wilsons, Harrisons and others. The same fact was expressed by the Highlanders in the prefix *Mac*; by the Normans in the word *Fitz*, (which is only a corruption of *filius*, son;) by the Welsh *Ap*; the Russian suffix *witz*; the Polish *sky*; and the Spanish *er*; while the Irish extended the nomenclature to the relation of grandson by their *O*, or *Oy*. The next step would naturally be the expression of remoter relations; and the kinsfolk of Tom, John, or Jean, Wat, &c., became the Tomkineses, Jenkinsees, and Watkinsees, although in some cases the suffix *kin* may have been a diminutive, like lambkin. There are some curious facts connected with the name John. Its derivatives are very numerous, both as to the number of persons bearing the name, and the number of names. We have the boundless family of the Joneses, and the kindred names of Johns, Jack, Jenks, Johnsons in all its spellings, Jackson, Hanson, Jenkins, Jennings, Jenkinson, &c., indicating a prodigious number of Johns, or rather that the name of John was a sort of generic name in early times; just as we now know all sailors by the name Jack. The same fact is indicated by its use in so many combinations that express contempt. Thus we have jackanapes, jack-pudding, jack-straws, jack-o'-lanterns, jack-sauce, jack-ass, boot-jack, jack-daw, jack-knife, kitchen-jack, &c., &c.; while from the Italian form of Gianni, we have Zani, or Zany, a mountebank, and the Spaniards have their Bobo Juan, or foolish John; and the French their Jean Potage. All these facts indicate a generic use of John, or Jack, in feudal times, somewhat like that which a modern satirist has almost succeeded in giving to the appellation Jeames.

After the numerous Christian names had been exhausted, then would come the trades, from which we have the Bakers, Barkers, (Tanners,) Butchers, Carters, Coopers, Carpenters, Glovers, Fowl-

ers, Harpers, Sawyers, Smiths, Shoemakers, Porters, Taylors and Waggoners. The immense family of the Smiths is accounted for by the fact, that the word smith (from the Saxon *smitan*, to smite,) meant originally any workman who smote or struck with his tools, whether he worked in wood, metal, or stone, and therefore included several trades now designated by other names. The residence of the family furnished the Hills, Fields, Bridges, Streets, Lanes, Woods and Houses. The offices of the parent, in church or state, furnished the Deans, Parsons, Marshalls, Constables, Sergeants, &c. The colours are represented by the Blacks, Whites, Grays, Browns, Greens, and Tawneys. Personal characteristics are perpetuated in the Sweets, Littles, Longs, Longfellows, Longmans, Smalls, Stronges, Swifts, Speeds, Lightfoots, Brights, Blunts and Broadheads. Sometimes the same name comes to us in several languages. We have in this country the families of three brothers, who in Germany were all called Klein, but who emigrating at different times, and two of them without the knowledge of the other, thinking it necessary to translate their names, have given us the three families of Kleins, Littles and Smalls. The various objects of nature, positions of the body, cries, sports, vessels, tools, weather, and, indeed, the sheerest accident would seem to have given us many of our surnames. Facts are embodied that one would scarcely wish to perpetuate. It is bad enough to have a cramp, or an aching-side for a few hours, without embalming them in such names as Cramp, Akenside, Ague-cheek, &c.; and other facts perpetuated are still more inexplicable, as we read such names as Drinkwater, Gotobed, Twelvetreets, Dolittle, Pop-kiss, Shakelady and Clapsaddle. But this endless confusion of surnames evinces a breaking up of social institutions, and an absence of any settled state of affairs, such as we see in the exact method adopted in the bestowal of proper names among the Romans. They are a deposit of conglomerate and diluvium, indicating a turbid and disquieted condition of the waters during their formation.

The geographical names of a country always embody much of its history. The names of many of our states, such as New-York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and the two Carolinas perpetuate the historical facts of their settlement. A full gazetteer would enable the careful student to detect many facts in our history. The most obvious fact that would present itself would be the various European names occurring in our new settlements. From these we should infer that the country was settled by a mixed population from all parts of Europe, who perpetuated the fatherland names in the land of their adoption. To some extent he would be able to trace the various streams of emigration, by the deposit of names

that they have left behind. In the English names of lower Virginia, we would find traces of the cavalier settlement; in the Antrims, Derrys and Donegals, he would detect the Scotch-Irish streams; in the New-Rochelles and New-Bordeaux, he would see the Hugonot trace; in the Amsterdams, Haarlems and Katskills the Dutch infusion; in the St. Marys, St. Louises, St. Augustines, St. Pauls, &c., he would discover the old Roman Catholic element from France and Spain; while in the Jerusalems, Jericho, Goshens and Bethlehems, he would suspect the presence of the men who rejoiced in such patronymics as Resist-the-devil Jones, Fight-the-good-fight-of-faith White, and who have not yet renounced such Hebrew appellations as Shearjashub, Adoniram, and Abimelech. That the people of this country had a high regard for liberty would be indicated by the countless towns named Freedom, Freeport, Freetown, Independence, Liberty and Union. That the present inhabitants of the country were only a secondary deposit, and not the primary occupants of the soil would be indicated by the fact that while the towns and political divisions have European and English names, the great natural features of the country, that existed before this stratum of emigration had been poured over it, the mountains, rivers, lakes and bays, have such names as Alleghany, Kittatinny, Tuscarora, Appomatox, Alabama, Ohio, Mississippi and Chesapeake. The various epochs of our national history will also be found marked by strata of names, as clearly as the successive deposits of fossils mark the great epochs of geology. The Revolution, the Indian wars, the war of 1812 and the Mexican war, and the great civil epochs, have deposited on our gazetteers the leading men and facts of their history, in such names as Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Taylor, Clay, Lexington, Tippecanoe, Chippewa, Monterey, and Ashland; so that a careful chronological arrangement of the names would readily reconstruct a great part of the history that is thus monumentally perpetuated.

This record of national history and character appears also in the words and phrases in common use. It is true that many of the phrases termed Americanisms are only imported Anglicisms; and it is also true that the English language is spoken in more purity in the United States than it is anywhere in the world, except by the highly educated classes of Great Britain. This fact is not accidental; but grows out of peculiarities in our national life. The different shires of England were at one time so much separated socially that dialects grew up, which were almost as distinct as different languages, and since this social separation has been diminished, there has not been such a general enjoyment of the various agencies

of popular instruction, such as the common-school, the newspaper, and the printed volume as to obliterate these distinctions. In this country, however, the original conglomerate of the population, their restless and changing character, the constant intermingling of the residents of all sections, and the universal diffusion of the school, the newspaper, and the printed book, have made the formation of such provincialisms as the Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Wilkshire dialects in England utterly impossible. Now, as the geologist infers a still and isolated condition of the waters when he finds separate deposits lying side by side in the same field, and a disturbed condition when he finds a wide-spread mass of conglomerate; so the student of language may perceive in the absence of provincial dialects in the United States, and their existence in England, indications of the different social and political conditions of the two countries, in their more general features.

But there is another class of facts that may be found in our language. As the geologist will find traces of the various streams that have contributed to deposit a mass of diluvium in the pebbles and drift which he discovers brought from distant sources, so the linguist may find in the words in common use traces of the various streams of life that have mingled in our national history. He sees the Indian current in such words as "hominy, canoe, barbacue, and moccasin;" the ancient French and Spanish and the modern Mexican dash, in the words "calaboose, bayou, levee, crevasse, pistareen, chapparel, cavortin, vamoze and fandango." There are other words and phrases that betray clearly the peculiar condition of the country in which they arose. The roving character of the population, the absence of all ceremony in intercourse, and the frequent meeting of those who are unknown to each other, is indicated by the fact that while the Frenchman will courteously say "*Mon-sieur*," (my sir, or my lord,) the Englishman, more curtly, "sir," the German, more kindly, "neighbour," and the Quaker "friend," the Western man will say, "stranger," showing thus that those who meet are generally strangers, and that this fact does not debar intercourse. The great physical features of the country have given birth to such words as "backwoods, bottoms, canebrakes, clearing, deadening, digging, dug-out, corn-shucking, stump-speaking and log-rolling," and the political features of the country have given other secondary meanings to some of them that are by no means flattering to our legislative customs. The traces of our wild, frontier life of the dog, the gun, the temporary hut, and the perils of the forests, are seen in such vulgarisms as "to flash in the pan, to fix his flint, to bark up the wrong tree, to pull up stakes, to flat

out, to be a caution, and to be among the missing." The same thing appears in the fact that what the Englishman would call "game," and put in "a preserve" to keep it for sport, owing to their comparative scarcity, the American calls "varmints," because their number and annoyance are such as to lead him to desire their destruction as a huge sort of vermin. The rioting intensity of life that rushes through our veins is shown by our fondness for such epithets as "awful, powerful, dreadful, monstrous, almighty, and all-fired." There is a rude vigour of vitality embodied even in such outrageous syllabic combinations as "absquatulate, rantankerous and catawampous;" and our whole American life is condensed into the characteristic phrase, "go ahead." There are other words and phrases, which, though local in their origin, yet by their general adoption indicate facts in our condition, not always of the most complimentary character. Among these are such as "gerrymandering, talking to Buncombe, lobbying and pipe-laying;" such appellations as "Barn-burners, old Hunkers, Hards, Softs, Silver Grays, Woolly Heads, Loco Focos and Bucktails;" and such phrases as "give us your corn-stealer," "give him Jessy," "acknowledge the corn," and "see the elephant." The cautious and inquisitive character of the New-Englander is seen in his saying, "I guess," when others would say, "I think, or believe, or suppose," and his exclamation of surprise, "du tell!" instead of the usual interjections. His social relations are indicated by the word "helps" where an Englishman would say "servants;" the predominance of the religious element in his life by the phrase "true as preachin'," when the rough Western man would say, "true as steel;" and the restraints of his religious training are curiously exhibited in his employing such gingerly anathemas as "darn you, tarnation, goshens, golly," &c., in those times of mental excitement, when the more unscrupulous profanity of West and Southwest would, in their own phrase, "pile on the agony." The same sectional characteristics may be seen even in peculiarities of pronunciation. The genuine Jonathan will draw out in the most cautious manner, as if unwilling to commit his organs too much, his "keouw, dang, eend, waal," while the semi-centaur of the Southwest will blunt out in headlong haste his "whar, thar, bar, yaller, &c.," with the most reckless outspurt of utterance; and the Southerner, who is in the habit of speaking to those who do not care to hear or to remember, betrays it in his constant "d'ye hear?" when addressing a servant, and his use of such words as "tote, gwine, nary-one," and his constant disuse of the *r* in pronunciation. Thus, without the formation of dialects such as we find in England, whenever there is a real difference of character or social condition

in different parts of the country, these differences will record themselves in differences of language. We can thus see the process going on before our eyes in which the facts of our national life are slowly crystallizing into verbal forms; and just as the geologist can reproduce much of the condition of a past epoch of the earth from the study of its fossils, so the philologist can reconstruct from our forms of speech very much of our national character and history.

But as these causes act slowly, and require time for their complete development, we must go further back in the history of our language for the treasures that are deposited in its words. We therefore propose to take an excursion among the hills, and look at the out-croppings of the strata.

The first fact that strikes us in looking at the English language is, that the primary element, the underlying granite on which all the rest reposes, is Saxon. Of the nearly forty thousand words that compose our language, about five-eighths are of Saxon origin, and they by far the most important portion for the common uses of speech. Added to this primary formation, we have successive strata of Gothic, Celtic, Latin, Norman-French, Greek and other more recent deposits. The curious fact that meets us here is, that the Anglo-Saxon constitutes the basis of the language, and not the Celtic, which was the speech of the original inhabitants of England. This brings to light the historical fact that the conquest of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, from which arose the Saxon Heptarchy, was, like that of the Indians in this country, almost an extermination of the aboriginal inhabitants. The old Celtic occupants were driven to the mountains of Wales, the highlands of Scotland, and the islands of Ireland and the Isle of Man, where we still find their memorial in the Cambrian dialect of the first, the Erse or Gaelic of the second and third, and the Manx of the fourth place of their refuge. The only Celtic words of ancient date are the names of mountains, rivers, &c., which remain in England like the Indian names of this country, the monuments of a race that was wholly swept from their original habitation.

But we have embodied in our language not only the relation of conquerors to the conquered, but also their relations to one another. The fact that the language became Anglo-Saxon perpetuates the facts that there were four kingdoms of Angles, three of Saxons, and one of Jutes, previous to the consolidation of the heptarchy. The Saxon element was infused not solely because of any political predominance, but because the literary tastes of Alfred led to the cultivation of the West Saxon, which then by the translations of books from other languages, and by original writings, became the immova-

ble basis of the English speech; a basis so deeply rooted that no subsequent conquest could remove it. The predominance of the Angles just mentioned is further shown by the name of the island and language of England. When the country ceased to be called *Brittania*, on the total routing of the Celts, it became not *Saxon-land*, or *Jut-land*, but *Angle-land*, or *England*. It is a curious fact, illustrating the secondary growth of this name, and its adoption subsequent to the banishment of the Celts, that their descendants to this day in Wales and the Highlands of Scotland call the English not Angles or English, but Saxons, the name that their exiled forefathers carried with them and embalmed in their hatred and curse. The matured strength of this Anglo-Saxon civilization appears from the fact that its terms of political division have remained to the present day. We have political and municipal divisions in this country that we call *Essex*, *Sussex*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, &c., without reflecting that we thus perpetuate the old Saxon boundaries, in which the East-Saxons were called *Essex*, South-Saxons *Sussex*, North-folk, *Norfolk*, South-folk, *Suffolk*, &c., through the various portions of the Saxon, or Anglian kingdoms. The strength of the political life contained in these forms is proved by the permanence of the terms created by it; just as the perfection of a fossilized skeleton or shell usually proves the original hardness and firmness of the osseous structure of the living animal.

The nature of the Norman conquest, and its difference from the Saxon, is also embodied in the language. That, unlike it, it was not an extermination, is shown by the fact that the name and language of the island remain. England did not become *Normandy*, as *Brittania* had become *England*, and the Norman-French did not supplant the Anglo-Saxon, as it had supplanted the Celtic. This proves that it was only a conquest, and not an extermination. But we have still deeper glances into the relative condition of the two parties from the language; that the Saxons, in spite of their political and literary culture were in a rude social condition appears from the fact that they had so few words to express any of the luxuries or elegancies of life, and therefore but few of the things represented by the words. We find a number of names for small rude houses, such as "hut, hovel, cot, cottage," &c., showing that these were the dwellings most familiar to them. The fact that names for more elegant houses, such as "castle, mansion, palace, hall," &c., are foreign words, shows that the things thus expressed came in with these foreigners. That the Norman was the conquering race we learn from the fact that the terms of honour and office are Norman, such as *sovereign*, *sceptre*, *realm*, *royalty*, *throne*, *prince*, *duke* and

count. There is one remarkable exception to this. The word king, (*könig*, or *kaning*, the man who *can*, who has might) is Saxon. This records the fact that the conqueror came in not as an unauthorized usurper, but on the plea that he was the rightful heir to the throne, the lawful king. All the inferior names of official authority, however, were changed. The Saxon "shire," which was once the portion of land shired, sheared, or cut off by the king when he created an earl, became "a county," or the portion assigned to a count. That the Norman flourished and fattened on the Saxon's toil, is shown by the fact that while the names of articles of luxury, terms of the chase and chivalry, are Norman, the names of implements of toil, such as spade, plough, flail, sickle, &c., are Saxon; as are also those of the great objects of nature, sun, moon, stars, earth, water, &c.; and the relations of life, such as father, mother, wife, and son. This fact has not escaped the keen eye of the author of *Ivanhoe*, who makes poor Wamba the witless for the nonce a philologist, as he points out the fact to the swineherd, that when the swine, ox, and calf were alive and needed attention they were called by Saxon names, but when killed and ready to be eaten they became pork, beef and veal, Norman appellations. To these he might have added that the Saxon sheep, deer, and fowl, became the Norman mutton, venison and pullet, showing that the poor Saxon ceased to have anything to do with them as soon as they were prepared for the table.

That the sturdy Saxon was refractory under his yoke, and required severe measures to keep him from plotting rebellion, is indicated by the word "curfew." This is from the Norman-French *couvre-feu*, (cover the fire;) because William the Conqueror required the Saxons to cover their fires and extinguish their lights when the curfew bell rang, in order that there might be no nightly plottings of revolt. The warlike character of these early times is strikingly indicated by other words. In modern times there is no necessary disgrace attached to a surrender as a prisoner of war, nor is it a necessary stigma of cowardice. But that it was otherwise with our fierce forefathers is shown by the words *caitiff* and *craven*; one of which meant only a captive, and the other one who asked or craved his life from an enemy. That these acts became marks of disgrace proves the ferocious spirit with which war was waged in these sanguinary times. The word "poltroon" also indicates the same fact. A poltroon was a *pollice truncus*, one who had cut off his thumb so that he could not draw the bow, and thus might evade military conscription.

It will be seen by these few illustrations how the main facts in

the two early epochs of English history, the Saxon and Norman conquests, have recorded themselves in our language; so that a future historian might reconstruct much of the early history of England, just as Niebuhr has that of Rome, from these fossilized preservations of the events of the past.

Nor has the Danish irruption left no traces behind. It is marked as clearly as a coal deposit by the names that it gave to the towns that were then occupied. The Danish termination "by," meaning "town" will be found in such names as Wetherby, Derby, Whitby, &c., marking with great exactness the limits of the Danish settlements in England.

There is another great historical epoch not far distant from these events, that has also left some impress on our language. We refer to the Crusades. From them we have the word "palmer," the mendicant pilgrim who brought back his palm staff as a proof of his visit to the Holy Land. The character of these pilgrims, or perhaps rather of those who pretended to be pilgrims, is curiously recorded in the word "saunter." A saunterer was originally one who went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, *à la sainte terre*. These pilgrims were gladly entertained by those to whose hospitality they appealed. But in process of time the pilgrimages attracted the lazy louts who were too indolent to work, and the cunning impostors who sponged on the hospitality of strangers under the pretext that they were pilgrims *à la sainte terre*, and who wandered from place to place on this plea, so that finally to profess to be a holy-lander, or saunterer, became synonymous with being a loitering, idle fellow. Our word "loafer" has had probably a similar origin, from the German *laufen*, to run or wander from place to place; although it is true that in our country the loafer rarely runs except at the sight of a police officer.

We have also probably a trace of these times in our word "miscreant." This means literally an unbeliever, and was applied in this sense originally to the Turks. But as they were regarded with intense hatred by the Christians, this hatred at last intensified the word to the meaning it now has of a man whose works are as bad as his faith; and thus records the unconscious judgment of the human race that wrong thinking will soon develop into wrong doing. The word "assassin" was also introduced about this time. It was originally the name of a tribe of fanatics in Persia, who, like the Thugs of India, murdered as a matter of religious duty all that were devoted to death by their prince, the Old Man of the mountains. These wretches were extirpated about this time, and their name was transferred to our language as a memorial of their bloody fanaticism; thus recording their history just as the word "burking" records one

of the monstrous forms of murder in modern times. The designation of all Europeans by the name Franks, in Mohammedan countries, had its rise at this time. The French being the most prominent in these wild forays, gave their name to all Europeans, just as the restless, roaming character of the New-Englanders has given to all Americans the sobriquet of Yankees. Indeed, the word Frank embodies an historical fact that carries us yet further back. The early tribe of Germans that received this name possessed a manly independence, and an open candour which contrasted so strikingly with the crafty Gauls and the degenerate Romans that their name became the designation of this type of character, just as the adjective in the phrase "a Yankee trick" describes a species of adroitness that is by no means monopolized by the descendants of the Pilgrims.

This kind of record may also be seen in the word "chouse." This comes from the Turkish *chiaous*, a messenger, and had its entree into our language in this wise. In 1609 a messenger or *chiaous* of the Grand Seigneur cheated the Turkish and Persian merchants in England out of about \$20,000, a large sum at that time. From the notoriety of the fact, to perform the same game was called to chouse; and thus, like a fly in amber, this rascally Turk has been handed down to posterity. Some of the financial transactions of our own country are in danger of adding some specimens of this doubtful species of riches to our language.

A curious exchange of meanings has occurred in the words "barter" and "cheat." Barter once meant to cheat, from *barrater*, to cheat; a meaning that is still seen in the legal term *barratry*. Cheat on the contrary is simply a contracted form of *escheat*, a forfeiture to the crown or government; and had originally no intimation of dishonesty connected with it. But as the escheator who attended to these forfeitures was not very scrupulous in his proceedings, escheating in the legal sense became cheating in the illegal sense, and thus passed into the language of common life to carry down to other generations the practices of these officers of the law. The merchants may hence twit the lawyers with the fact that the mercantile term passed from a roguish meaning to an honest one, while the legal term took the opposite track; though the lawyers may probably claim some of the credit of this change by their success in detecting roguery, and may perhaps be in possession of facts, professionally, that would show that bartering has not yet lost its original and less creditable signification.

There is a curious piece of medieval history embodied in the word "dunce." John Duns Scotus was one of the acutest men of

the middle ages, and the leader of the metaphysical party in the Church of Rome. His logical and theological writings became thus a text-book for his disciples for many years after his death. At the revival of letters, the scholars of the new era began to quote Greek and Hebrew, which the Scotists rejected as an innovation, clinging to the syllogisms of their great master, and quoting his sentences as sufficient authority. Hence, as Tyndal has noted, the Duns disciples became the violent opponents of learning, so that a Duns-ist, or Dunse, became the name of contempt for an ignorant booby. Thus by a peculiarly hard fate, poor John Duns Scotus, the most subtle intellect of his age, is perpetuated to posterity in that juvenile martyr to literary pursuits in the village schools, whose melancholy visage is surmounted by the dunce-cap.

The word melancholy suggests to us another kind of history that is contained in words. It is the history of opinions. Old Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* remarks, "The name melancholy is imposed from the matter and disease denominated, from the material cause, as Bruel observes, *melancholia*, as if *μέλαινα χολή*, from black choler. Frascatorius, in his second book of *Intellect*, calls those melancholy whom abundance of that same depraved humour of black choler hath so misaffected, that they became mad thence, and dote in most things or in all belonging to election, will, or other manifest operations of the understanding." We have, then, in this word a record of the old system of humoral pathology. This system taught that there were four humours or moistures in the body, namely, blood, phlegm, choler, and melancholy or black bile; and according to the mixture of these humours was the temperament of the man, both bodily and spiritual. When the blood predominated it made a sanguine, hopeful man; when the choler, which was supposed to contain the principle of natural heat, it made a choleric, fiery, irritable man; when the phlegm, it made a cold, dull, phlegmatic man; when the melancholy, or black bile, it made a gloomy, desponding, melancholy man. We retain these terms in common use, though the pathology which gave them their significance has long since been exploded and almost forgotten. This same physiological theory, also, has bequeathed to us other words still in use. It taught that a man's disposition depended on the right mixture of these humours; and hence we speak of a humorous man, a man's humour, a good humoured or bad humoured person; and, also, of a good temper, a bad temper, a distemper, a temperament of body, &c., all of which terms had their origin in the theory that the disposition of a man depended on the tempering of these primary humours of the body.

Another set of terms that still continue in use are those of astrology. We have long since ceased to believe in sidereal influences on the lives of men, and yet we retain the word "influence," which originally referred to the flowing down (*influens*) of a force or virtue from the planets upon the earth. The word "ascendent" is from the same terminology. We also speak of a "disaster," from *dis* against, and *aster* a star, which originally meant that a man's star was malignant or against him. We still speak of a man as a "jovial," although we do not think that it is owing to his being born under the influence of the planet Jupiter or Jove, the roystering chief of the Pagan Olympus; and we use the terms "saturnine," and "mercurial," though we do not think that gloomy Saturn, or light-heeled and light-fingered Mercury have anything to do with the matter whatever.

The ancient tendency of the human mind to refer its acts and states to superhuman and sub-human influences, what Comte calls the theological phase, is also embodied in words. A "guilty" man was at first a guiled or guilt man, that is, one guiled by the devil. So a "wicked" man was a man witched, from *wiccan*, to bewitch. We retain these terms though we fasten the responsibility nearer home than either the devil or the witch. We also speak of a person as fascinating, without having any faith in the power of killing with the evil eye, as the word *fascino* originally meant; and talk of another as "enchanting," although we know that the day of enchantments, or wizardly incantations, is over; and call others "bewitching" without the slightest intention of intimating that they perform nocturnal journeys on a broomstick. The word journey we may remark in passing, also records a state of facts that antedates our age of railroads, and even coaches, that have night lines as well as day. It meant, originally, a day's travel, (*jour*, a day,) and hence we have the words journey-man, journey-work, which were originally applied to men who worked by the day, and work that was performed by the day. Hence a nocturnal journey is etymologically a contradiction.

We have, also, in a number of words records of particular notions that have long since been laid aside or forgotten. In the phrase "sardonic laugh," we record the ancient opinion of the Greeks that there was an herb in Sardinia that would make those who ate it die with laughter. In the word "sarcophagus," which is literally flesh-eater, and which seems to be an unaccountable name for a receptacle designed to preserve and not to destroy the bodies of the dead, we perpetuate the opinion of the ancients that the stones of Assos in Troas, from which tombs were made, would in forty days

consume the bodies that were placed in them, all but the teeth, as Pliny informs us, and hence were called sarcophagi, or flesh-consumers. In the word "panic," we retain the notion of the Greeks that the god Pan had some finger in the mischief thus designated. In the phrase "hermetically sealed," we transmit the notion that Hermes Trismegistus was the author of the chemical art: in the word "electricity," that amber (*electron*) was the substance in which electric phenomena were supposed solely to reside, because first noticed in it. We also speak of the "halcyon days" of human life; and are somewhat puzzled to learn that the halcyon is the king-fisher, until we find out that the seven days before and after the winter solstice were so named: because then this bird made its nest among the reeds by the seashore, inasmuch as during these days the sea was usually calm and the sky bright. We speak of the "nightmare," also, without believing that the old Runic spectre Mara seizes and throttles us during the night. We also continue to call a metallic medicine "antimony," although we do not believe that it has any special antipathy to monks, as its discoverer did, who gave it to an unsuspecting monk by way of experiment, and killed the poor fellow; and hence called it antimony, or anti-monk, in view of its supposed anti-popery properties. Thus we find by chipping off the outer shell of many of our words, we have embodied a record of the crude opinions of our predecessors on many subjects.

But we have not only records of crude opinions in words, but also of the crude condition of the arts in ancient times. Most persons are aware that "paper" is so called from the Egyptian reed *papyrus*, the early writing material; and that "volume" (something rolled) is derived from the rolling of MSS. before the discovery of the arts of printing and book-binding. But we have other words that embody records of similar facts. In the word library (from *liber*, bark) we have the fact that men once used the smooth bark of trees to write on: a fact also preserved in the word "book," which is the old Anglo-Saxon for a beach-tree, because its polished bark was used in this way. In the word "style" we preserve the name of the Roman *stylus*, the iron pen, one end of which traced the lines on the waxen tablet, and the other erased them when the writer made his corrections. The word "pen" is undergoing this change in our own day. It is literally a *penna*, a feather or quill, though now we speak of a quill pen and a steel pen. We also speak of "calculating," although we no longer use *calculi*, or pebbles, to aid us in the process; and use the word "stipulation," though the custom of handing a *stipula* or straw from the seller to the buyer of a

piece of land, in attestation of the contract, is no longer used. We count by "scores," meaning twenties, although we have more convenient methods of reckoning than our ancestors, who counted by notches, and when they had reached twenty, scored; that is, cut off the tally, from the old verb *scuran*, to cut off. The laying aside of this method of reckoning was adduced by Jack Cade as one of the misdemeanors of the Lord Say in Henry VI.: "Thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of this realm, in erecting a grammar school; and whereas before, our forefathers had no other books but the score and tally, thou hast caused printing to be used; and contrary to the king, his crown, and dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill." So we use the phrases "signing our name," "signature," &c., notwithstanding we no longer make the sign of the cross, as our unlettered fathers did; when, unable to write their names, they made a sign for them, or signed instead of writing them. And the tenacity of these ancient customs is indicated by the fact, that when a man is compelled to make his mark, we find him, Protestant though he be, making the sign of the cross, as duly as the devoutest Catholic; although in the very act he seems to confess to being a know-nothing.

There are also national and social customs that are embodied in words. Thus "candidate" is from *candida*, white, because a Roman aspirant to office always wore an unusually white toga; a custom that is perhaps perpetuated in modern times by the white-washing that is commonly given to these gentlemen by their friends. From the same source we have the word "ambition," which is literally a going about, (*ambitio*), and was applied to that patriotic impulse that led men to desire to sacrifice themselves to the service of their country on the altars of one of her fat offices, and hence to go about soliciting votes; a sort of pilgrim's progress that our annual elections show has not yet become wholly obsolete. So a "clerk," at one stage of the changing history of its meaning, meant any one who could read, although now it means any one who can write; and when the phrase "benefit of clergy" was first introduced, clerks and clergy were the same class; although in our day the clerks would be very unwilling to be held to all the restraints that are imposed upon the clergy. A "husband" was so called because he was regarded as the "house-band," as old Tusser has it:

"The name of a husband, what is it to say,
Of wife and of household the band and the stay."

And yet in spite of old Tusser's authority we know that often the stay of the house comes from the other side. The "wife" was so

called from *weben* to weave, because among our simple Saxon ancestors, she did the weaving of the household; and the unmarried lady was called "spinster," because she did the spinning. We retain the terms wife and spinster, although these operations have long been laid aside, except in the insinuations of crabbed satirists, who are fond of charging modern spinsters with the manufacture of a less profitable kind of yarn, outside of the house, than that which is produced by the stationary spinning jennies. The word "bonnet" is derived from *bonad*, a covering; it being an antiquated prejudice that this article of dress was designed to cover the head; a blunder of our great-grandmothers that is exposed now in the most bare-faced manner. The word "bead" comes from *beden*, to pray, and had its origin in the use of the rosary in praying, when one bead was dropped for every petition. In our day, however, wearing beads and saying prayers are things that have no necessary connexion. The word "gossip" has also wandered very far from its original meaning. It meant originally a sponsor for a child in baptism. These sponsors were supposed to acquire a spiritual relationship to the child that created a kinship with each other that made intermarriage unlawful. Hence, as the male sponsor was called the godfather, and the female the godmother, their relationship was called godsibb, or kin in God, using the old word sibb, which meant kindred. The christening days and birthdays naturally brought these spiritual relations together in a festive manner, and as Junius very ungallantly observes, they soon came together to tell stories and to tittle over them. Thus by an obvious process the word gossip acquired its present meaning; which involves a very different kind of sponsorship, oftentimes, than that which is assumed at the baptismal font. Thus it is that words remain as witnesses of facts long after those who acted in them have passed away; thus verifying in a remote sense the declaration of Scripture, "By thy words shalt thou be justified, and by thy words shalt thou be condemned."

A number of words carry in their structure the history of the places from which the articles described by them had their origin. Thus the damson, or damascene plum, tells us that it came from Damascus; while the cloth called "damask" tells the same story. The "bayonet" proclaims that it was made originally at Bayonne; "cambric," at Cambray; "dimity," at Damietta; "carpet," at Cairo, (*Cairo tapet*, or *Cairo tapestry*;) "muslin," or *mousseline*, that it came from Moussul; "calico," from Callicut; "gingham," from Guinchamp; "gauze," from Gaza; "arras," from Arras; "holland," from Holland, though now it comes mainly from Ireland;

"currants," from Corinth; "guinea," from Guinea gold; "camlet," from camel's hair; and "artesian wells," from Artois, where they were first made. The same process is going on at the present time in such things as Petersham coats, Mackinaw blankets, Lowell cottons, and other commercial articles, where the adjective is gradually absorbing to itself all the force of a name. The word "bedlam" had an original of this kind. It is simply a corruption of Bethlehem, the hospital of St. Mary, Bethlehem, having been given to the city of London, in 1545, as a receptacle for lunatics, whence a mad-house is called a bedlam. The word "tariff" has had a parentage that will rejoice the enemies of a protective system. It comes from Tarifa, the promontory that juts out from Spain into the Straits of Gibraltar, where the piratical Moors were in the habit of arresting all ships entering the Mediterranean, and compelling them to pay toll for the privilege. This levying of black-mail was called *tariffing*, from whence we have our word *tariff*; a derivation which the fiery free-trader will think to be a very appropriate one for what he regards as a system of legalized piracy.

But we must pause in our fossil hunting, not, however, for want of material, for we have left some of the richest veins of this great deposit untouched. There are mournful chapters of national history contained in the changes that have occurred in the meanings of words. What volumes of Roman history are contained in the word *virtus* every Latin scholar knows. It is a cameo-picture of Roman history for many centuries. But what a mournful proof of change is evinced by the fact that the people who tread on the ashes of Brutus and Cato, now mean by *vertu*, not the stern manliness of its old Roman original, but tit-bits of rarity, gimcracks and old curiosities, as if to possess these was the highest attainment of man. It is a further proof of Italian degeneracy that by a *virtuoso* they mean not a brave, or even a virtuous man, as the old Latin *virtuosus* meant, but a man skilled in the fine arts; by a *bravo*, not a hero, but a brigand or an assassin; and by a *cicerone*, not a Ciceronian in the choice and utterance of eloquent words, but the glib and gabbling showman who pilots strangers around the relics of their nobler ancestry. One is painfully reminded of those Dead Sea apes, of which Carlyle makes so much use in some of his writings. The French language has a number of such indications of national character. Such words as *perfide*, *roué*, *beau*, *belle*, *hotel*, *religieuse*, *chevalier d'industrie*, *fille de joie*, *pondre de succession*, and the whole vocabulary of mockery in which this language is so rich, give volumes of insight into the interior life of the people whose thoughts are either expressed or concealed by such words. Nor is

our English language wanting in such tokens of degeneracy. There are in English history as marked eras of degradation as Hugh Miller has ever discovered in the records of the old red sandstone. We have a number of words, that now convey a degrading sense, in the meaning of which there was once nothing at all derogatory. Thus *maudlin* is from *Magdalen*, a weeping penitent; *cant* from *chant*, or *canticle*, a solemn hymn to God; *prude* once meant only one who was *prudent*; *demure*, (from *des mœurs*,) one who was respectful of morals; *saint* and *godly* had no more lurking sarcasm than their synonymes, *holy* and *godlike*; *homely* once meant simply *homelike*; *gallantry* meant only a chivalrous bravery, and had no equivocal sense; *resentment*, even as late as the time of Bacon, was used in its primitive sense of reflection, from *re-sentire*, to think again, and had no anger involved in it whatever. A *rake* once meant only a reckless, and not necessarily a debauched person; a *varlet* was only a valet or hireling; a *villain*, only a *villanus*, a country labourer or servant; a *wench*, a young girl; an *imp* once meant only a descendant. So that Lord Cromwell, in writing to fierce old Henry VIII., could call his sainted son, Edward VI., in a phrase meant to be highly complimentary, "that goodlie imp;" a *libertine* once was only a liberal or free-thinker on religious subjects, and not one whose creed had crept into his life; *paraphernalia* was originally only a woman's dower, and had no sense of tawdry ornament; and the word *tawdry* itself only meant originally those ornamental things that were sold at the fair of St. Audrey. Thus it has been with many words, that once had a primeval innocence of meaning, but, like the race that used them, have had a fall. Many of them may be found changing about the time of the restoration of the Stuarts, recording thus the influx of corruption that came in with the witty and wicked Charles. Indeed, the very process of transition in some cases may be traced in the pages of Dryden, evincing the mournful degradation that was then occurring in the English character. In the reaction from Puritanism, honour, virtue, religion and purity were becoming mere mockeries; all belief in their very existence was dying out among the classes that gave currency to language, and hence by an obvious process the names of these qualities became terms of sneering contempt, and now stand as ghastly memorials of the degenerate days of the Restoration.

The mere absence of words in a language often indicates national character most strikingly, for it indicates the absence of the things expressed by those words. How significant a fact is it that only in our English tongue do we find that rich word *home*, a word so full of the music of household joys and fireside memories. What a

striking fact is it that most heathen languages, even so cultivated a one as the Chinese, have no word expressing the name of God; and yet one Australian tribe has a word to express a form of infanticide for which we have not coined a term; while another has four words to express as many different kinds of murder, none of which involve any moral disapprobation, and yet has not one word to express love. Nor is our own language without these ethical indications. What an argument for the Maine law may be found in the opulence of our vocabulary respecting the immoderate use of strong drink. Men speak in the most gingerly terms of a man as being "in liquor, the worse for liquor, shot in the neck, half seas over, a brick in the hat, how came you so, on a frolic, on a spree, disguised, inebriated, intoxicated, funny, joyful, muddled, jolly, corned, tight, boozy, slewed, fuddled, high, sweet, soaked, drunk," down to "dead drunk," and yet the remarkable fact is, that many of these terms are absolutely apologetic, and not one of them implies disapprobation, except the Latin derivative "intoxicated," from *toxicum*, poison. But on the other hand how discouraging are the prospects of the Maine law among a people that have more than two dozen terms to describe getting drunk, and only one to describe staying sober.

We have purposely left untouched some of the profoundest questions of history connected with the study of words. We refer to the ethnological aspects of philology. These are among the most absorbing questions of science in our day. As the geologist may trace the path of a boulder, or the drift of a diluvium back to the rocky bed from which they were originally torn, though leagues distant; so the comparative philologist is now tracing the relations of different languages, not only in the meaning of particular words, but also in their grammatical structure, and then reaching facts of primeval history that have no other record on earth. Nations as widely separated as the Ganges and the Rhine are thus found to have a common origin; and grammatical peculiarities that have puzzled the English, Latin and Greek scholar, are found to be explained by that old and sacred tongue in which the Hindoo religion and philosophy have been sealed up for so many centuries. Thus, like the sea-shell that murmurs to the ear of the chiming waves of the far-off ocean home of its earliest life, our western languages are found telling the story of their origin in that ancient homestead of the race, the beautiful valleys of Central Asia.

There are also rich ethical treasures found in words, containing as they do the profoundest moral judgments of the race, the more forcible because undesigned. How emphatic the testimony, to the tendency of all passions to make their possessor wretched, that is found

in the word *passion*, which originally meant suffering, a meaning which we still retain in speaking of "the passion of our Lord;" also, in the word *anger*, which has the same root with *anguish*; also, in calling a covetous man a *miser*, that is, a miserable man; and a *penurious* or *parsimonious* man, a man of *penury* or *scarceness*, (*parcitas*,) though he may possess great wealth. By many such words men have thus recorded their own condemnation.

Rich gems of poetry are also embedded in language, especially in the more impassioned languages of the East. How full of poetry is our word *fall*, that echoes with the rustling of the falling leaf, compared with *autumn*, which tells only of the *auctum*, the adding or increase then given to the fruits of the earth! How beautiful is the German *morgen-land*, (morning-land,) applied to the East; *fader-land*, (father-land,) to one's native country; and our *mother tongue*, as applied to the language that we learn from the lips of a mother. How full of poetry, also, is our word *cemetery*, literally sleeping-place, applied to the last resting places of the dead; a Christian thought that rises still higher in its range of poetic imagery in the beautiful Saxon name *God's acre*, by which was designated the hal-lowed spot where the dust of dear ones was laid in hope.

There is also music in words. Indeed, much of the melody of poetry is in the music that is contained in the words.

But all these and other topics must be omitted. Our object has been mainly to induce those whose attention has never been directed to these studies, to turn it thitherward, and to show how richly our noble English tongue has come down to us laden with the treasures of an undated past, and what glorious promise is thus given of its future. Indeed, the very composite character that has been often urged as one of its defects is one of the very attributes that seem to mark it as yet destined to be the universal language of the earth. It descends to us like some magnificent army of occupation, gleaming with the armour and banners of every race that has been mightiest on earth. Central in its solid columns do we see the stalwart forms of the Angle, and the Saxon, and the Jute, whose brawny muscles have gathered thew in the dark forests of the North. Glittering on one of its wings we see the nodding plumes and prancing steeds of the Norman Frank, as he links his fiery chivalry with the serried squadrons of the Anglo-Saxon; on the other we descry the stately maniples of Rome, the compact phalanxes of Greece, the stern and solemn tribes of the Hebrew, and the gorgeous array of the Orientals. All these mighty and magnificent elements we see moving in steady, calm, and unbroken march along the plains of Europe, the continent of America, and the colonial occupations of Asia, Africa,

and Australia, carrying, as we believe, by a more resistless might than that of armies and navies, Anglo-Saxon literature, Anglo-Saxon science, Anglo-Saxon civilization, and Anglo-Saxon religion to the destined conquest of the world.

Since writing these pages, we have seen another of Mr. Trench's admirable books, in which some of our previous remarks have been anticipated; but as our obligations to him have already been so great, we have not thought it needful to make any change in what is written, even at the risk of making those obligations seem greater than they really are.

ART. VI.—LIFE AND TIMES OF BISHOP HEDDING.

Life and Times of Rev. Elijah Hedding, D. D., late Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By REV. D. W. CLARK, D. D. With an Introduction, by REV. BISHOP E. S. JAMES. 1 vol., 8vo. New-York: Carlton & Phillips. 1855.

METHODIST denominational literature is especially rich in the department of biography. This results directly, and almost necessarily, from its genius, which is an individual life, tending powerfully to bring out the individual character. In this particular, as in many others, Methodism attests its identity with simple and unrestrained Christianity, which, to an eminent degree, addresses itself to the individual conscience, and manifests its saving and elevating power in the life and character of its subjects. By virtue of this peculiarity, our holy religion, whether called by its catholic or by some sectional name, has ever been a revolutionary power—destructive indeed toward venerable abuses, but potently reconstructive of whatever is valuable—and then equally conservative of what is thus produced. From the nature of the case the stores of this department of our literature must be steadily augmenting. The hidden power of the Gospel, operating in many hearts, is constantly producing its fruits, in the holy lives and virtuous deeds of its subjects. Such lives, and the noble actions that adorn them, ought not to perish with the fleeting breath of mortality. It is one of the high purposes of a sanctified literature to embalm the memory of the good, and thus to give to all ages of the Church the virtuous deeds and holy examples of the great and wise of other times.

We are not, however, of those who think that a biography of every good man should be written and published; simply because the thing

is impossible. There is a limit to the reading capabilities of the world, however the case may be as to the writing. There are more things intrinsically worthy to be remembered, than the minds of men can receive and retain. Some things, therefore, must be consigned to oblivion. It is quite possible that what is intrinsically worthy to be retained, may be also relatively unworthy, and therefore ought not to be remembered. Hence it is a real misfortune when misdirected genius sets the seal of indestructibleness upon inferior objects, and thereby excludes superior ones from the stores of literature. Only great men should be honoured with monuments—whether material or literary—for monuments are designed for posterity to study; and for this purpose only great examples should be used. The study of greatness embodied in character tends naturally to engender like qualities in the mind of the contemplator. Not so, however, with goodness, (so vitiated is human character,) unless it is adorned and rendered attractive by a coexistent greatness. It may therefore be questioned whether the memoirs of many pious persons of moderate intellects and narrow fields of action are not a real disservice to the cause of religion. Greatness, however, should in this estimate be measured by its true standard; and probably in not a few cases it would be found that real magnanimity exists where the glare of external splendour is wanting.

To write the biography of a recently deceased person is always a difficult and delicate task. Time, the great arbiter and the only reliable judge of what ought to be remembered or forgotten, has not yet made his decisions. The newly-gathered fruits are yet crude, nor can it be determined which will mellow into richness and which will decay in the process. It seems to be conceded that none but a friendly hand should compose such a work, and yet that very friendship must interfere with the cool and unprejudiced action of the writer. But when not only the individual, in his actions and character, is made the theme of the disquisition, but the whole field of his relations is contemplated, and the related things in their connexion with the subject of the memoir, the difficulty becomes greater in proportion to the greatness of the theme. Nearly all subjects of public interest have their partizan aspects, and upon any contemporary subject all who may be sufficiently interested to read a book relating to it, may be supposed to belong to one or other party. To discuss, to the satisfaction of all parties, the questions that must come under notice in such a work, is quite impossible. If the writer pursue only the truth, without fear or favour, even were he infallible in his determinations, he can satisfy only those with whom he may agree. If he compromise the existing differences—the favourite

method with some—he would probably offend all, and at the same time violate truth and right; for it is far from being the case that these always lie midway between extremes. Such are some of the difficulties to be encountered in such a work as is the volume named at the head of this paper. How well the writer has managed them will be seen only by a perusal of the volume itself; though we shall endeavour in this paper to aid our readers somewhat in the matter.

Our first reflection on taking the book in hand was, that it is too large. So we still think, had it been only a memoir of Bishop Hedding. But when its design, as indicated by its title, is seen to be to review and discuss the character and progress of American Methodism during the first half of the present century, the objection changes sides. Such a discussion at this time must necessarily be partial as well as crude; and though it could not be entirely avoided, yet it was neither needful nor desirable to attempt to exhaust the subject. As to the form of the work, the author had no election; its character compelled him to follow the order of time in the distribution of his matter: a very natural, but generally a very uninteresting method. Yet the succession of events in the history of the illustrious deceased, or the evolution of periods in the history of the Church, permitted some degree of distribution beyond that of mere annals. Probably, in this matter, all that the case allowed has been done.

As to the style of the work and its literary merits we must speak sparingly. The author is not unknown to the Methodist public as a writer of a good degree of celebrity, who is steadily adding to his well-earned reputation, both as author and editor, by successive contributions to our literature. He is yet in the prime of life, in the noonday of intellectual manhood; and we doubt not that should he be favoured with life and health, the world will hear from him again. Perhaps on account of the personal relations of the reviewer and the author, our commendations would be received rather as the results of personal favour than of calm, discriminating criticism; at any rate, we willingly leave this volume to speak for itself. No one, however, can deny his honest and open-handed dealing with the subjects that come under his hand: and while, *secundum artem*, to say nothing of higher motives, he is the steady friend and advocate of his honoured subject, he nevertheless deals fairly and kindly—often remarkably so—with those of the opposite party. He is unwavering in his attachments to Methodism, *as it is*, in all its essential features, yet not so blindly wedded to its accidents, as to be precluded from a fair and manly examination of any proposed improvements or

reforms. We may venture, however, to add, that we should not generally consider it a fortunate event, so far as his literary reputation is concerned, for any writer to be flattered by being selected for such a work. Valuable as we confess the work to be, and honourable to both the mind and heart of the writer, it is, nevertheless, of necessity wanting in many of the essential properties of a work of high literary merit. This remark, however, lies wholly and exclusively against the work, and not against the writer. The Realists tell us that the great Creator could only produce the imperfect world in which we live because of the perversity of the materials with which he wrought, and of the forms into which they were cast. A like consideration should be used in the case before us.

The life of Bishop Hedding presents a number of prominent points inviting our remarks. Several important questions of Church polity and administration are immediately connected with his history; and some of the most exciting events in our ecclesiastical annals for the last half century are brought fully before us in his personal biography. To some of these, as discussed in this volume, we purpose to direct attention; to examine the method in which they are here disposed of; and perhaps to rediscuss the principles involved, and "so far forth" settled. These things, together with some brief reference to matters more exclusively biographical, will make up the substance of this paper.

Elijah Hedding, late senior bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Dutchess county, New-York, June 7th, 1780. His ancestry, three generations back, was English, and the family was strongly marked with their national peculiarities. The state of society in that region of country was at that time, and had been from the beginning, strangely anomalous. The country on the banks of the Hudson, constituting the original Dutch province of New-Amsterdam, afterward New-York, was originally occupied by a mixed population from nearly all the countries of western Europe, and of every religious sect that then divided and distracted those countries. The eastern bank of the river, originally divided into the counties of Westchester, Dutchess, and Rensselaer, was chiefly occupied by an English population. The Dutch occupied a few towns near the river, but the whole interior was settled by persons speaking the English language. The course of settlement was usually left to the direction of accidents or individual caprice. The original settlers were generally very poor, uneducated, and exceedingly rude. Schools were long unknown, and few of the first generation reared in that region, knew anything of letters. The religious condition of the people was, for a hundred years after the

province fell into the hands of the English, or even to the close of the war of Independence, most deplorable. In the Dutch towns there were generally a minister and Church of the Reformed order, but, for the most part, very little of the form and less of the power of religion was found in them. The English Episcopal Church, though constituted by law the religion of the province, had but very few parishes in all this region. The Quakers had made several settlements, and though they of course brought with them their peculiar faith and modes of worship, yet from their non-aggressive habits, they exerted but little influence on any beyond themselves, and indeed their system has proved insufficient to sustain itself against external influences. A few Presbyterian churches scattered over the country, in remote parts, and in the portions bordering on Connecticut and Massachusetts a few of the Congregational order, and also a very few Baptists, though all of them commonly overcharged with high Calvinism, served to keep alive the flickering light of Christianity among a simple but extremely rude population.

It was of this heterogeneous race that our subject came. After the war of the Revolution great advancements had been made, and most of the young people of the better families had learned to read. The neighbourhood in which young Hedding was born and reared, bordered on a Quaker settlement and felt its influences. The people were generally irreligious, both in character and manners. Wide extents of country were wholly destitute of religious provisions. The Sabbath was a day of idleness, pleasure, and dissipation; and it was no infrequent thing for persons to have grown up to mature age without having ever heard a prayer or attended any religious exercises. Yet we should greatly err should we hastily conclude that true religious feeling and sentiment was unknown among them. Man is naturally a religious being, and where the light of revelation is not wholly wanting, his soul will often respond in secret to its inward callings. This truth, so deep and instructive to the philosophic inquirer into the elements of man's character, is well illustrated in the narrative of the early life of our subject:—

“Neither of the parents of Elijah was a professor of religion at the time of his birth; but his mother was the subject of deep religious convictions, and was evidently a woman of prayer. She took great pains to guard his moral character, and to instruct him in the truths and duties of the Christian religion. The elements of a religious education were so clearly imparted by even this unconverted mother, and so firmly grafted into his youthful mind, that, at the early age of four years, he was able to pray with a tolerable understanding of the nature and obligations of prayer. The habit of secret

prayer, thus formed in early childhood, was maintained for several years, and until, through the influence of evil associates, he had in a measure thrown off the restraints of religion."—P. 44.

The story of the introduction of Methodism into the region along the Hudson, makes one of the most attractive chapters in its deeply interesting history. We have seen the waste condition in which it lay at the time that Methodism began its mighty march over the country. At the conference held in Philadelphia, September, 1788, the whole region from New-York city to Canada, along the line of the Hudson river and Lake Champlain, was laid out in six circuits, and the whole committed to the superintendence of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, with nine or ten young men as assistants. This was the practical beginning of the office of presiding elder. The whole enterprise was conceived and executed with a boldness and energy characteristic of the times and the men,—a higher style of chivalry does not illumine the annals of knight-errantry. Turning to the memoirs of the leader of this invading corps, we find a brief account of the affair, which we adopt as better than any we might write:—

"After conference adjourned, I requested the young men to meet me. Light seemed reflected on my path [he had never seen the country], that I might give them directions where to begin, and which way to form their circuits. I also appointed a time for each quarterly meeting, requested them to take up a collection in every place where they preached, and told them I should go up the North River to the extreme parts of the work, visiting the towns and cities in the way, and on my return I should visit them all, and hold their quarterly-meetings. I had no doubt that the Lord would do wonders, for the young men were pious, zealous, and laborious."

Of the list of circuits making up this earliest presiding elder's district, Dutchess was the second in geographical order, extending some forty miles northward from the Highlands, and including the whole of the vast county from which it was named, with large portions of contiguous territory. A slight inroad had been made into it before this conference, and ten members were set down to it. All to the north of this was entirely new ground. This arrangement included the residence of the parents of the future bishop within a Methodist circuit, and presently brought the news of salvation into their very neighborhood. The power of the divine Spirit powerfully accompanied the word, and many were thoroughly converted to God. Among the most successful agents under God, in this great work, was the truly wonderful Benjamin Abbott, who was sent to Dutchess circuit in 1789, and was honoured of God in bringing the mother and grandmother of young Hedding into the

Church, as well as of deeply impressing his own mind, though a child of only nine or ten, with a solemn sense of religion.

A few years later (in 1791), his parents removed to Starksborough, Vermont, then a new and sparsely-settled country, beset with all the discomforts and disadvantages of a frontier settlement. The morals of the people were even worse than were those of his native place, and the partial provision for religious instruction of his former residence, was replaced by almost entire destitution in this. Among such influences—as bad, it would seem, as Satan himself could have selected—was the tender mind of this youth to receive its fashion and impress. To human judgment his ruin would have seemed inevitable; but God had better things in store for him, and for his Church through him. Of this part of the narrative we shall favour the reader with one or two pretty long extracts, though they trench rather largely upon our room :—

“Four or five years after the Hedding family settled in Starksborough, the entire town remained nearly destitute of religious meetings and privileges. The Methodist itinerants, though ranging the country in every direction, had not as yet penetrated into that part of the State. About this time, however, a Methodist family moved into the neighbourhood. The man and his wife were both devotedly pious. Finding that there were no Sabbath-meetings in the community, they invited their neighbours to meet at their house, and regular Sabbath services were kept up by them for two or three years, and until the appointment became regularly included within the newly-formed circuit of Vergennes, in 1798. The meetings were usually opened by singing and prayer, conducted by the man himself, and afterward one of Wesley’s Sermons or a portion of Baxter’s Call would be read by some one appointed for that purpose. Young Hedding was usually called upon to read on these occasions; and though reluctant at first, the exercise soon became far from disagreeable. By these means he became intimately acquainted with this pious couple. They were thorough Methodists, experimentally and practically. They were intelligent, well versed in Methodist theology, and well supplied with Methodist books. In these books, which were loaned to him, young Hedding found a new source of mental improvement. They were read through and through, conned over and discussed, till he had not only read every book published by the Methodists, but absolutely mastered their contents. Thus did he early, and before his heart was renewed by grace, become thoroughly conversant with the system of Wesleyan theology; and, in preference to every other, he embraced it heartily, and without the least mental reserve, as combining the grand truths embodied in the Bible.”—Pp. 57-8.

We next change the scene, and by advancing one stage forward, present another living picture in this spirited panorama.

“In the year 1798, the aggressive spirit of the Methodist itinerancy began to make systematic inroads into Vermont. Up to this time the mother of young Hedding, and the pious couple of whom we have spoken, were the only Methodists in the town of Starksborough. But now a host was raised up. The revival was remarkable, not only for the number of its subjects, but also for the variety of their characters, and the powerful manifes-

tations of the Spirit of God, in many of their meetings. During the first six months of the work of grace that was spreading through the region, young Hedding attended the meetings, but obstinately resisted the strivings of the Holy Spirit. One Sabbath, after he had been reading in meeting, this pious woman, after the congregation had separated, addressed him with such an earnest exhortation that his heart was deeply affected; and as he journeyed homeward, he turned into a grove, and kneeled down by a large tree, and covenanted with God to cease from his follies and sins, to part with all his idols, and to devote himself sincerely and earnestly, and at any and every cost God might require, to the great work of his soul's salvation. Over fifty years after, and but a short time before he was gathered to his fathers, referring to this event, he said to the writer: 'In that hour I solemnly made a dedication of myself to God. I laid my all—soul, body, goods, and all—for time and for eternity, upon the altar, and I have never, *never*, taken them back.' He did not then, however, find relief, aside from the conscientious satisfaction of having done his duty, nor did he receive any satisfactory evidences of his acceptance with God. 'This,' said he, 'was the first time in my life that I remember to have had the full consent of my will to part with all my sins for Christ's sake.'—Pp. 64-5.

This was the turning point in his life, the event which in its influences and results made him what he became. It should be here noticed that neither then, nor even afterward, did he look upon this as the time of his spiritual regeneration and adoption of God; he still recognized himself as a lost and unforgiven sinner. But through grace he had chosen the better part, and that choice, steadily persisted in, necessarily, in the economy of grace, resulted in his conversion and salvation. We direct attention to this point, more particularly, from an apprehension that it is often overlooked or undervalued. The most interesting point in the history of a redeemed sinner, is that in which the unsettled impulses vibrate between the opposing influences of good and evil, and the will, like a balance, trembles with almost equal tendencies to either side, while the destinies of eternity hang upon the decision. Compared with this, even the hour of earnest prayer, and the moment of faith's first great triumph in the power of the cross of Christ, are of less earnest interest. These are but stages in the development of the great work of personal salvation,—that is an initial, and in an important sense, a self-originated process. Having taken this step, and being favoured with religious instructions and stimulants to earnest efforts for a conscious assurance of the divine favour, it was not long before Hedding was enabled to rejoice in God his Saviour.

It is an employment altogether worthy to engage the meditations of a devout and philosophic mind, to examine and elucidate the mental processes which have occurred in innumerable instances and with great uniformity of manifestation, by which young persons have been led forward, often against strongly opposing circumstances, and still stronger personal disinclinations, to devote their

lives to the labours and sacrifices of the Methodist itinerant ministry. It is vain to attempt to account for these things by any merely psychological theory, which ignores the distinctively religious element, or refers the whole to subjective causes. The evidences of objective spiritual influences, and of the directing agency of an unseen Providence in these things, are too patent to be overlooked by any but the perversely blinded; and only by recognizing these things can we account for the efficiency of the incidental agencies by which the manifest results are produced. The history of the subject of these pages, is one of the many that illustrate this matter, and brings it within the sphere of our observation. We again avail ourselves of the language of our author, to present our subject:—

“The economy of the Methodist Church was well calculated to develop the talents of such young men. It trained them not in seminaries and colleges, but in the field of action. However indispensable the former have become in a later age—an age of more refinement and of more general intelligence—the latter was the only one that could meet the emergencies of those times. First, the simple narration of Christian experience—the tale of spiritual conflicts and triumphs, of sorrows and heavenly joys, uttered weekly among sympathizing and encouraging brethren in the class room; then the exercise of prayer in the social assembly, often gathered to mingle in songs of praise and fervent intercessions at the mercy-seat; next the exhortation in the public assembly; and finally, the ministration of the word to assemblies, convened often in private houses, rustic in their character, but hungering for the bread of life—such a training kept alive the holy fire in the heart, and at the same time developed that ready and effective practical talent admirably adapted to the times.

“Such was the school in which young Hedding was being trained for the great work of God in which he was afterward to take so conspicuous a part. At first his own convictions in relation to his duty were not clear; and he determined that nothing should induce him to enter the ministry before he was clearly convinced that he was called by God to the work. The preachers sometimes told him that it was his duty to preach, and once, at a quarterly conference, a license was offered him; but he uniformly replied that he was not satisfied that God had called him, and he was not willing to run before he was sent. His views of the great responsibilities of the minister's calling, and the necessity for eminent qualifications, as well as a special call from God himself for the work, and, withal, his views of personal unfitness, made him unwilling to believe it his duty whenever the subject was presented to him. Still he could not divest his mind of the impression that he ought to preach, and waited for God to make known to him his duty in such a manner as would remove all doubts. In the mean time he was constantly, and with absorbing interest, engaged in the study of the Bible. He continued also to exercise his talents in public prayer and exhortation as opportunity offered. The love of Christ fired his heart, and his fine and already somewhat exercised talents were often employed with powerful effect.”—*Pp. 72-74.*

The convictions of the Church in this case seem to have outrun those of the young man himself, as to his call to the ministry; and accordingly, in less than a year after his conversion, he was licensed

as an exhorter, and began to hold religious meetings. The next year, a vacancy having occurred in a neighbouring circuit, caused by the departure from it of the eccentric Lorenzo Dow, under an impression of duty to preach the Gospel in Ireland, the young exhorter, then less than twenty years old, was thrust out, much against his wish, to supply the place. Here is the story of his labour, in this his first essay in the Methodist itinerancy:—

“His labours here were of the most arduous character. It required not less than three hundred miles’ travel to complete one round upon the circuit, which occupied four weeks. During this time he held regularly three meetings on the Sabbath, and met class at the close of each; and at least one, often two, on each day of the week, besides frequent prayer-meetings. During this period young Hedding, being only an exhorter, conscientiously avoided the show or fact of preaching. He says of himself, that ‘instead of taking a text I delivered an exhortation usually about an hour long.’ His word was in demonstration of the Spirit and with power; revivals broke out, the work of God moved forward in every direction, ‘and much people was added to the Lord.’ It was now fully evident that he was a chosen vessel unto God to bear his name before the people and the Church. Having filled the time of his engagement, he returned home, and renewed his former occupation upon the farm.”—Pp. 75-6.

During all this time he had carefully excluded from his own mind all notion that he was, in fact or in office, a preacher. He regarded the ministerial character with an awful reverence, and conceived himself to be altogether unfitted for its solemn responsibilities. Yet his mind was not at ease. He could not help looking forward to the time when he should be thrust out into its duties, though he was slow to believe that one so wholly insufficient as he considered himself, could be called to such a work. At length he so far yielded to the drawings of his own spirit, seconding the frequent suggestions of his Christian associates, as to attempt to preach at a meeting which he had appointed for exhortation and prayer. This experiment was fatal to his long-cherished notions of exemption from the duties of the ministry. “From that time,” says the biographer, “he never doubted but that he was called to the work of the ministry.” He now only awaited the call of Providence to enter upon his designated work. Nor was this long delayed: he was soon afterward called for by the presiding elder to supply a vacancy on Plattsburgh circuit, and was soon after permanently appointed, for the remainder of the conference year, as junior preacher on Cambridge circuit, on the east side of the Hudson River.

In this informal manner was begun that course of ministerial life and labours in and for which he became so deservedly celebrated. He had not chosen the work, but had evidently been providentially prepared for it and now led into it; on the one hand the divine Spirit

by degrees made his path of duty plain, and on the other he was not disobedient to the heavenly vision. On the 16th of June, 1801, he was regularly admitted, by the New-York annual conference, on probation in the travelling connexion; and thus was formally initiated into that career which during his subsequent life filled both his heart and his hands.

Some notice of the work upon which he thus entered may not be inappropriate in this place; and we again avail ourselves of our author's remarks:—

"The circuits were large, often requiring three to five hundred miles to complete one round, and this round was completed in from two to six weeks, during which a sermon was to be preached and a class met daily; and often three sermons and three classes to be attended on the Sabbath. The journeys, too, were performed . . . on horseback, through rough and miry ways, and through wildernesses where no road as yet had been cast up. Rivers and swamps were to be forded. Nor could the journey be delayed. On, on, must the itinerant press his way, through the drenching rains of summer, the chilling sleet of spring or autumn, and the driving blasts or piercing cold of winter; and often amid perils, weariness, hunger, and almost nakedness, carrying the bread of life to the lost and perishing. And then, when the day of toil was ended, in the creviced hut of the frontier settler, the weary itinerant, among those of kindred hearts and sympathies, found a cordial though humble place of repose." . . .

"The people, though willing, were poor, and the support was often inadequate to meet the necessities of even a single man; but woe to the man and the family that were dependent for a livelihood upon the compensation received for such labours as these. And yet these were men—men sensible to suffering and want—men of tender sympathies for wives and children! . . . Such were the toils, hardships, and privations endured by our fathers in transforming the waste wilderness into a delightful vineyard, and making it as the garden of God."—Pp. 84-6.

The Methodist itinerancy has always been a school as well as a service; though in those early times its facilities for self-culture were as imperfect as were its other appliances. Yet in not a few instances did these hardy itinerants surmount all its difficulties, and acquire not only great practical knowledge, but also very respectable literary attainments. How these things were managed in the case in hand our author thus states:—

"His almost daily public labours, the long and toilsome rides between his appointments, the great scarcity and high price of books, the difficulty of obtaining suitable accommodations for study, and the almost utter impossibility of obtaining any adequate help by way of instruction, were some of the difficulties that were to be encountered and overcome by him who would show himself to be a workman that needed not to be ashamed. With these difficulties Mr. Hedding resolutely grappled. The woods were often his study; the Bible, and "that elder scripture," also written with God's own hand, were the great text-books from which he drew forth the treasures of knowledge and truth. 'I was glad,' says he, 'during the summer, to get into the woods, and find an hour or two to read my Bible and some other religious books that I

could carry in my saddlebags. In the winter, I was equally glad to get the same privilege by the fireside in a small log-cabin of but one room, and the fire surrounded by a family of children."—Pp. 90-1.

It is well known to those who knew him, that Bishop Hedding was no mean scholar, even if measured by the advanced standard of our times, and that thoroughness rather than comprehensiveness was the characteristic of his scholarship. The secret of his success generally we see in the foregoing statements; the means by which he attained to his characteristic thoroughness is shown in what follows:—

"It was thus, step by step, that young Hedding plodded his way along, using his little leisure and his few books to the best possible advantage. Whenever he encountered a difficulty, he ceased not to grapple with it till it was fully overcome; nor did he lay down a book until its contents had been thoroughly mastered, and it will be scarcely too much to say, permanently stored away in his own mind."—P. 93.

For a period of twenty-four years, Bishop Hedding, before his election to the episcopacy, received his annual appointments at conference, and prosecuted the duties assigned him, on circuits, and stations, and presiding elders' districts. The fields of his labour lay, after the first few years, wholly in the New-England states; and when the New-England conference was separated from New-York, he became identified with that work. In the introduction and establishment of Methodism in New-England—itsself one of the most romantic, as it is perhaps the best recorded portion of our denominational history—he was an active and most efficient agent, and in its stirring scenes and forlorn but heroic labours he spent the flower of his manhood; and upon it no doubt he left the impress of his own great spirit, which remains his noblest and most enduring monument.

From the beginning of the quadrennial series of general conferences in 1808, till his election to the episcopate, Mr. Hedding was at each session a delegate from the New-England conference. He was thus brought into contact with the ruling minds of the Church, and his attention was directed to its governmental polity. A subject so well adapted to his modes of thought could not fail to engage his attention and to receive in turn the advantage of his enlightened and comprehensive counsels. Among the questions of Church polity which during this period engaged the attention of the great council of the Church, no other elicited so much interest as that familiarly known as the Presiding Elder question. This subject is pretty fully discussed in these pages. In giving an account of the General Conference of 1824, Dr. Clark remarks:—

"Several new measures were proposed for the action of this Conference; but none created greater excitement, or occupied more the attention of the conference than an effort to make presiding elders elective by the conferences. A motion to this effect had first been introduced into the General Conference of 1808, and was thoroughly discussed by the ablest men of that body; but it was decided in the negative, by a vote of fifty-two in favour, to seventy-three against it. . . . At this session of the General Conference the subject was again introduced by a motion from one of the New-York delegates, [Rev. Laban Clark.] As before, it elicited a great deal of discussion. Able and eloquent speeches were made both for and against it. The measure was again lost, though by a decreased majority—forty-two voting in its favour and forty-five against it. It appears that the delegates from the Philadelphia, New-York and Genesee Conferences were unanimous in its favour. The New-England conference delegates were we believe, mostly in favour of it; but the Southern delegates were generally united in opposition to the measure."—Pp. 211-12.

The further history of this affair is, that, in 1816, when the measure was again brought to a vote, it was for the third time defeated by the decisive vote of sixty-three against it to thirty-nine for it; but in 1820, the other side had the preponderance, and on a division the measure was carried (modified somewhat in form but unchanged in its general character) by a vote of sixty-one against twenty-five. At this point the issue of the matter in which the conference seemed so nearly to harmonize was interrupted by episcopal interference. Bishop McKendree entered his protest against the measure as unconstitutional, in which step he had been preceded by Rev. Joshua Soule, who had just before been elected bishop, but now refused to be ordained because of this action of the conference. Deference to the episcopacy has always characterized the Methodist ministry; yet in this case, the convictions of the conference as to their rights in the matter, and of the expediency of the measure, were too clear to allow them to entirely recede from their position. They, however, consented to suspend the operation of the new law for four years, at which time it was further suspended till the next General Conference, in 1828, when, under the pressure of the great Radical controversy, it was finally repealed.

This question possesses an interest at this time, chiefly, though not exclusively, historical. It belongs to the past, but is not wholly remote from the present status of the Church. As a question of right, the whole power of the Church, in all matters of administration, whether exercised by the episcopacy or by the annual conferences or the General Conference, belongs to the presbytery,—the aggregate body of the ministers—*elders*, it should be. This body is present by representation in the General Conference, and there they have all power pertaining to the ecclesiastical corporation, except wherein they are expressly limited by their constituents. On what ground then such a measure could be said to be unconstitu-

tional, we are wholly at a loss to conjecture. It is, however, almost universally the case, that all new measures of legislation are met with this objection, by the opposing party.

As the inherent right of the ministry in this matter is obvious, so it seems most reasonable that they upon whom the tremendous appointing power is to be perpetually exercised, should be in the most intimate and sympathetic connection with those who exercise that power; nor is it strange that those truly great men, who carried this measure through the General Conference of 1824,—the greatest, as a class, we verily believe, that ever directed the affairs of American Methodism,—thought they should best accomplish this purpose by having the appointing power lodged in hands selected by themselves for that immediate purpose; men directly of themselves, and presently to change places with those whose destinies for a season were now at their disposal. That men should in any case submit themselves to such an arrangement, excites the wonder of all who consider the subject from without; and it is certainly due to those who do this for the good of the Church, that they should have credit for their loyalty in waiving their rights for the common good; and not that they should be told in effect that their only right in the matter, is to obey the dicta of a *superior order* of ministers. We rejoice, however, to know that no such pretences are now made, either by the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church or in their behalf. The same scape-goat that bore away from us a large share of another "great evil," took away also with it the soul of this Methodistic prelacy. Our ministers have hitherto submitted cheerfully to the present mode of appointing the presiding elders, and of fixing the annual appointments of the preachers,—because they have confidence in the wisdom and fidelity of their bishops,—and while they do so we do not see that any third party need trouble themselves with the subject. But if at any time they should prefer some other method of doing this, they have an undoubted right to their choice in the matter.

There is another view of this subject, of which but little is said, but which we believe demands the most serious attention from all concerned. There are those who believe that in a large and influential portion of the Church, the appointing power is steadily, not to say rapidly, departing from the hands of the bishops, but not to fall into those of the presbytery, nor of their representatives. These tell us that indeed our bishops still sit in the chair of authority, surrounded by their unauthoritative council of presiding elders; but in many cases, for but little more than to make formal registrations of the informal but efficient decrees of a power unknown to the

theory of our Church government. This external pressure is said to be at this time steadily felt in all the Northern and Eastern conferences, and each year we are told, carries it further Southward, and in the West its development is rapid in proportion to the growth of everything that takes root in that prolific region. Our bishops, even now, say they, are unable to withstand it, and the presiding elders—the mere creatures of episcopal authority, as to their official being—bring them no additional power. Such a state of things may well be satisfactory to that portion of the Church who so potently though inostensibly dispose of its affairs; and also, as far as mere worldly considerations are concerned, to those who receive the appointments, since now they have ready access to those with whom are lodged their future worldly interests. We honestly believe, that at this time there is in this very thing more latent danger to our itinerancy than in any other. Our Episcopacy is grappling with a ubiquitous, intangible, but most potent rival, and there is cause to fear the issue will be against them unless they be aided. Whence that aid may come from we shall not attempt to determine; nor shall we insist that this fearful tendency could be withstood were the appointments made by the united power of the bishops and the conference.

It is not at all wonderful that Bishop Hedding, as have some others, changed his views on this question as he advanced in years. It is no unusual thing for the successful favourite of a popular movement, when invested with power, to abandon the cause by virtue of which he was elevated. Nor is this necessarily a cause of reproach, but often otherwise, since the more comprehensive views of the subject gained from his new position, often change the whole aspect of the case. But apart from this: power tends directly to make men careful, so that frequently the greatest radicals are effectually cured by charging them with responsibilities. But that which, when properly tempered, may be a cardinal virtue, sometimes becomes no virtue at all by its excess; and hence conservatism is at best of a doubtful character. That old men, and men of cool temperaments, especially when they are charged with weighty responsibilities, incline to this extreme rather than the other, cannot be denied; nor will the utterance by us, of so patent a fact, be construed offensively. If, therefore, we use this consideration in explanation of the fact that Bishop Hedding changed sides on the famous "Presiding Elder Question" as he advanced in years, we have a philosophic basis for our theory; and, without passing any judgment upon his earlier or later opinions, we in so doing cast no reproach upon his good name.

But while we most cheerfully concede the good bishop's honesty

of purpose in the matter, (we would contend for this, were it questioned,) and freely consent that this superannuated question should still enjoy its "quietus," we are not altogether pleased with the reasons assigned against the proposed change. It is assumed that our annual conferences are incompetent to make such elections with discretion,—that all elections in the conferences are great evils, and that the infusion of the popular element into our ecclesiastical affairs is to be deprecated. Such an assumption, we believe, is not sustained either in theory or by the evidence of facts. That it is prelatical and despotic in its tendencies is obvious, and we insist that the general results of experience go to prove the trustworthiness of Methodist ministers in these things as well as in all others pertaining to their legitimate functions. Our British Wesleyan brethren have exercised a like power, and to a much larger extent, ever since the death of Mr. Wesley, and we have yet to learn that any great inconvenience has arisen from this source. And we are not prepared to grant that American Methodist ministers are not fully their equals in this thing. But the argument, if sound, proves more than probably any one is ready to admit. If "the bad effects of electioneering in selecting delegates for the General Conference," give evidence that the election of presiding elders by the annual conferences would be an evil, they also, and *a fortiori*, prove that the election of delegates to General Conference, by the annual conferences, is an evil. What then? Shall they too be appointed by the Episcopacy? Or rather, shall we do without General Conferences, and commit the legislative, as well as the executive and judicial power of the Church to the bench of bishops? Probably Bishop Hedding would have resisted such a proposition had it been made in his time, as decidedly as any man; and yet his arguments necessarily lead to that result. But his heart was right even when his head got slightly wrong, and though he might argue faultily, his administration was always liberal and in perfect integrity of purpose. We regret that this doubtless well-meant, but really ill-favoured argument has been given to the public, not only because it is naught in itself, but especially because it does injustice to its illustrious author.

At the General Conference of 1824 two bishops were to be chosen, and party lines were drawn to some extent upon the Presiding Elder question, though not very strictly, especially by the majority. As an interesting passage in Methodist history we give the following statement of the election:—

"This question entered largely into the canvass for the election for bishops. The conference having determined upon the election of two, each party brought

forward their strong candidates. On the one side Joshua Soule and William Beauchamp, and on the other Elijah Hedding and John Emory were brought forward for the suffrages of their brethren. On the first ballot there were one hundred and twenty-eight votes cast, requiring sixty-five for an election. Joshua Soule had sixty-four, Elijah Hedding sixty-one, William Beauchamp sixty-two, John Emory fifty-nine, and ten scattering. On the second ballot Joshua Soule had sixty-five, and was elected; Elijah Hedding sixty-four, William Beauchamp sixty-two, and John Emory fifty-eight, and five scattering. [Query:—Were there more than one name on a ballot? If not, how did one hundred and twenty-eight votes count one hundred and eighty-nine? If so, (and how could that be when only one was to be chosen,) why were there not two hundred and fifty-six as on the first ballot?—*Rev.*] *Rev.* John Emory withdrew his name from the canvass; and on balloting a third time, Elijah Hedding received sixty-six votes and was elected."—Pp. 300-1.

The office to which he was thus chosen was not only unsought, but sincerely undesired by the bishop elect. In his views the office was indeed entirely non-prelatical, yet he considered the Methodist episcopacy a valuable prudential arrangement, but believed that his circumstances rendered it inexpedient, if not impracticable, for him to assume its duties; and so he, soon after his election, declared to the conference. But frequently it is as difficult to get rid of unsought honours as generally it is to obtain coveted ones. His convictions were overruled by the persuasion of his friends, and at length, after the conference had by a unanimous vote invited him to do so, he assented, declaring "that he must receive the voice of the Church as the voice of God in the matter."

As to his suitability for the elevated post in the Church thus assigned him, the biographer happily remarks—and the whole Church will respond to the truthfulness of his utterances; the picture is truly that of a model bishop:—

"Bishop Hedding brought to the episcopal office a sound and deep piety, whose ardour had not been abated through a period of nearly twenty-six years, most of which had been spent in laborious service, and in the midst of many trials and privations in the cause of Christ. His mind, naturally clear and discriminating, had been well matured by reading and study, by intercourse with men, and by a large and well improved experience. He was possessed of great simplicity and sincerity of manner—a peculiar and confiding openness in his intercourse with his brethren, that at once won their confidence and affection. At the same time, his natural dignity and great discretion made him an object of reverence as well as of affection. Also his great shrewdness, and his almost instinctive insight into the characters of men, guarded him from becoming the dupe of the crafty and designing. His heart was as true as it was large in its sympathies. His brethren never in vain sought his counsel or his sympathy. It was evident to all that he had one object in view, the salvation of men and the glory of God. In the exercise of the episcopal functions he developed [illustrated] those rare qualifications that had distinguished him as a presiding officer, and especially as an expounder of ecclesiastical law. The soundness of his views upon the doctrines and discipline of the Church has been so fully and so universally conceded, that in the end he became almost an oracle in the Church in these respects; and his opinions are [still] regarded with profound veneration."—Pp. 303-4.

Of Bishop Hedding's labours in the episcopacy we shall attempt no history. Nor need we; for whoever would see the whole in its details must read Dr. Clark's biography of him; or if only the general summing up of the matter is called for, who that has the least smattering of Methodist ecclesiastical history has not heard of his diligence, fidelity and self-sacrifice in the service of the Church? Certain matters relatively incidental but really not the less valuable, may properly engage a passing notice. Among the duties devolving to a large degree upon the bishops at this time, was the settling of the character of our ecclesiastical law, and of its practical administration. The cast of Bishop Hedding's mind eminently fitted him for this work, which afterward occupied a large share of his attention. His recorded "decisions," and especially his "Discourse on the Administration of Discipline," have doubtless done much toward establishing our economy upon a uniform and equitable basis. The great confidence reposed in his judgment in such matters occasioned him much labour, especially during the later years of his life, in answering the numerous inquiries, and solving a multitude of cases, real or supposed, which were submitted to him. But it may be questioned whether decisions given in such circumstances have any general practical value. A case made up for the purpose, or a real one known only by a brief and often ambiguous *ex parte* statement, can form a very insufficient basis for a judicial decision; and it is obvious that to have an intelligent decision the case on which it rests must be well understood. The exposition of law is a function of the judiciary, and it would seem that only when acting in that capacity, that is, when presiding in an annual conference in judicial session, is it proper that a bishop should authoritatively "answer a law question." The multitudinous decisions found scattered upon the journals of nearly forty annual conferences must, from the nature of the case, be of very little value, and perhaps in many cases mischievous. These remarks, however, do not apply to such discussions of general principles and expositions of the spirit of our disciplinary statutes, as are found in many of Bishop Hedding's letters, and still more at large in his "Discourse." These constitute an invaluable commentary upon our ecclesiastical code, and should be carefully studied by every administrator of the Methodist discipline.

The cause of academical and collegiate education in the Church, always found in Bishop Hedding a steady and consistent supporter. Though both his official duties and the want of early academical advantages, precluded him from any very intimate connection with the internal arrangements of institutions of learning, yet he rendered the most efficient and timely aid to the cause, by his personal

influence and judicious approval of them, at a time when such help was especially needed. A prejudice not wholly unreasonable, and certainly venial in those who entertained it, had grown up among our people, against the Church's engaging in that enterprise, to remove which and bring about a better conviction, required both decision and discretion. The business, however, was most effectually accomplished, but not by one or two men alone, but by many, among whom their sons in the Gospel, and the recipients of the early fruits of their enlightened policy and zealous perseverance, love to recognise the names of a Fisk, an Emory, a Ruter, and a Bangs, —and though not so directly prominent yet equally conspicuous, that of Hedding.

It was impossible to write a biography of Bishop Hedding, and entirely avoid the ever-present and interminable slavery question, and we must do Dr. Clark the justice to say that he has evinced a greater degree of straightforwardness in his remarks on the subject than we have been accustomed to find in similar productions. The bishop's connexion with the question, both officially and personally, was too intimate to allow the subject to be passed over in silence. To have said that from his youth he considered slavery a *wrong*, both morally and politically, would have been saying very little; for this was at that time the common sentiment of the whole North, and to a good degree of the South too, especially among the Methodists. His own personal observations of the practical workings of the system, could have had very little tendency to mitigate his early dislike of it; though the complicity of the Church with the "great evil," and the difficulty in the way of its "extirpation," may have somewhat unsettled his convictions and inclined his mind to seek out some apology for its manifest iniquity. If, however, he was at any time, under the force of circumstances, made to seem to be an apologist for slavery, his position belied his character, and could be occupied only so long as prejudice or passion should obscure the face of truth. The anti-slavery agitation in the conferences of New-England and northern New-York, beginning about twenty years ago and continuing about ten years, and eventuating in the secession of several prominent ministers and a large number of lay-members from the Church, forms a painfully interesting chapter in our denominational history. The time to write that history is not yet; nor will it be till the great conflict between freedom and slavery shall have reached the "beginning of its end." In this great agitation, Bishop Hedding became deeply implicated in the prosecution of his official duties, and of course his actions and motives were at times subjected to severe and often intemperate

animadversions. Choosing neither to re-discuss nor yet to seem to dodge this subject, we will here quote at large Dr. Clark's well-timed observations, made at the conclusion of his account of this affair, agreeing as we do most heartily, with what is there presented:—

"It is but just to say that we have felt no disposition to impugn the motives of the men who took the lead in this movement. We cannot doubt the honesty of their convictions and the sincerity of their motives. Could they at the outset—before their minds had become prejudiced by opposition to their measures, and their affections alienated from the Church—have seen the inevitable results to which their course tended, they would undoubtedly have paused, and at least assumed positions and adopted measures less offensive and less perilous. Or while their hearts were yet imbued with the tender sentiments of brotherly love, could they have foreseen the alienation of Christian feeling, the turmoil and strife that would be engendered in the Church, they would have hesitated. And, indeed, it must not be concealed that they were often goaded by the rude personalities with which they were assailed, and also by the opprobrious epithets that were heaped upon them. We confess that at this distance of time, on looking through the files of the current newspapers of that day—those which took the lead in opposition to these radical movements—we are painfully impressed with this fact. Many things were written and said that it would have been well for the fair fame of Christian love if they had never existed.

"So also, on the other hand, Bishop Hedding may have uttered or written some things too palliative in relation to slavery, and may have seemed more anxious to vindicate the South—especially Methodists who were involved in "the great evil"—than at the present day seems fit or appropriate. But it must be recollected that the evils inseparable from the system have since been more fully developed, and in that day the existence of slavery was generally deplored by good men in the south as an evil; and also that its enshrinement as a "divine institution" is of more recent origin. Taking all these facts into the account, we then have a ready interpretation and vindication of his action in the fact that the Church was placed in great peril, and he was bound by the most sacred obligations to guard its integrity. Rather than compromise the well-being of the Church, he suffered himself for a time to be placed in a false position before the world, and to suffer obloquy such as has rarely fallen to the lot of a good man in this age to suffer. These things he endured—not doubting of the present approval of Heaven, and of the ultimate approval of the Christian world. By his firmness in this hour of trial he performed a great service for the Church and for the cause of God."—Pp. 534-5.

Incidental to this question of slavery, was another not at all related to it, and yet, in the sequel, closely entangled with the controversies to which it gave rise—that of the extent and limitations of the powers, severally, of the presiding bishop, and of the associated body of ministers in an annual conference. These mutual rights have never been very clearly defined—perhaps they cannot be—and so while they call for courtesy and mutual forbearance, they also may be the occasion of contentions, and mutual encroachments and resistance. If pressed to one extreme the bishop would be utterly powerless; and whether the business, to accomplish which the conference is called, and for the doing of which the bishop

is responsible to the General Conference, should be done at all, would be a matter wholly subject to the will of an irresponsible majority of the conference. Such surely is not the design of the law in the case, though much has been said, and that very plausibly, in its defence. On the other hand, it is equally evident that an annual conference is not a powerless assembly, incapable of acting in anything except by virtue of certain definite grants of privileges, beyond which it may not, only by special favour, express an opinion nor recommend a course of action; though possibly by a rigid construction of certain provisions of the Discipline, such might seem to be the law in the case. If such a construction were indeed to become established as the law of the Church, and were the usages of the administration conformed to it, probably very few, beyond the merest sycophants, would ever be found a second time in such a body. There is danger, therefore, in either extreme, and unquestionably our admirable Church regulations would be powerless for good, were they not administered and executed in the spirit of peace and mutual confidence.

That some of the anti-slavery leaders, especially in the New-England conference, claimed too much for themselves in the shape of conference rights, is very probable; that the bishops, following up the unusual, and, we must think unwarrantable, action of the General Conference of 1836, endeavoured to extend their prerogatives a little too far, is not altogether improbable. A strange infatuation, at that time, possessed the public mind, from which the wisest and best were not wholly exempt; an indefinite but most potential notion that "abolitionism," like treason in despotic nations, worked a universal forfeiture of human rights. That such epidemic delusions do prevail at certain seasons must be confessed in order to explain the otherwise inexplicable actions of good men. At such times, too, men of the proscribed party take the prevailing influence by contraries, and are driven to the opposite pole of the sphere, to abide their time of recompense, or to be overcome in the conflict. To give to the parties to this unhappy contention the advantage of these considerations is no less just than charitable.

With a brief notice of one further case, that of the celebrated John Newland Maffitt, we must pass from the consideration of Bishop Hedding's administrative acts. For nearly a quarter of a century that strange individual had ranged the whole field of the Church, ecclesiastically a local preacher, and ostensibly an evangelist, but really a professional revivalist working for pay. His course was the occasion of much scandal to the Church from without, and of great grief to those who watched over its welfare from within; but it was

found exceedingly difficult to remedy the evil. Toward the end of the year 1846, Mr. Maffitt came to New-York, bringing a certificate of Church membership, and united with one of the churches in that city, as a local elder. Here charges involving his ministerial and moral character were presently preferred against him, to which he was required to plead. This, however, he chose not to do, but asked of his minister a regular dismissal from the church. That, of course, could not be granted while charges were pending against him; but the minister, willing to be rid of a disagreeable duty, returned to him the paper on which he had been received in that church, with which he sought and obtained admission to a church in Brooklyn, then in charge of one of his partizans. The Brooklyn minister now notified the complainants that he was ready to try the case on the charges they had made; but they denied his jurisdiction in the matter, and held Mr. Maffitt to his responsibilities to the Church before which he was first accused; thus giving rise to a complicated question of jurisdiction. In this emergency the interference of Bishop Hedding was invited; and he, seeing the necessity of the case, consented to bring to bear upon it the power of his office in an unusual, but as he believed, a wholly legitimate form. He accordingly examined into all the facts of the case, and then authoritatively declared that Mr. Maffitt's membership had been legally fixed in the New-York church, and never legally removed, and therefore it remained there still; so that there, and not elsewhere, might he answer to the complaints laid against him.

The action of the bishop, in this business, was, at the time, variously estimated by different persons, and certain questions of administration involved in it are yet unsettled. As to the goodness of his motives there can be but one opinion. That the case presented a real emergency is scarcely less certain; and all must honour him for his moral courage in meeting the storm before which others—and some of those to whom the business primarily belonged—had succumbed. But the question as to the legality of his mode of proceeding is not so clear. To determine the question of a person's membership in a particular church or society, pertains to the interior administration of such church or society, and for this, as for other cases of administration, the preacher in charge is responsible to his annual conference. How then, it is asked, does it belong *eminently* to the episcopacy? Our bishops are indeed pastors of the whole Church, but their pastoral oversight extends to the church-members through their duly-appointed pastors; that is, not immediately in any case, but always through the exercise of the appointing power. By this power too, such a case as that under notice,

could be fully reached by the episcopacy, for if the incumbent minister refused or failed to do his duty he could be replaced by another.

We are entirely uninformed as to the grounds taken by Mr. Maffitt's friends against the bishop; but whether they were, or were not valid, would not have availed much. When people are satisfied that the right end has been reached in such a case, they are not apt to be over-scrupulous about the process. So in the General Conference of 1848, some who openly dissented from the report of the Committee on the Itinerancy approving this action, waived all opposition, presuming that "the emergency of the case may have justified the irregularity of the proceeding."

Omitting whatever else in the active life of Bishop Hedding might seem to deserve attention, we pass on, to contemplate him in the final chapter of his earthly history. Though often a great sufferer from painful chronic complaints, the results of exposures and privations in early life, he nevertheless continued his active duties till he was a little past seventy years old, or till near the close of the year 1850. About that time his strength suddenly and almost entirely gave way under an attack of acute disease, from which he never recovered, though he continued to suffer for more than a year and a quarter. To contemplate him in the condition into which he was thus brought, may constitute a fitting close to this hasty review of his life.

First, it should be observed, that though Bishop Hedding was most thoroughly a worn-out man, as to his physical system, and though he had attained to an age at which most men have entered upon a state of manifest senility, yet, to all appearances, his intellect suffered neither weakness nor obscurity to the last. It is a question not wholly unworthy of examination whether the distressing decay of the mental faculties so common with old people is really unavoidable. Two classes of persons are especially liable to this calamity: those who never really think at all, with whom the brain is an unused organ, and therefore never well developed, and so most certain to fall into premature decay; and those whose minds are overworked by intense and protracted excitements, inducing a monstrous and unequal development, till at length outraged nature refuses to be thus overtaxed, and a more or less violent collapse ensues. A vast amount of both physical and mental labour may be performed, by persons of only ordinary abilities, if undue efforts be avoided, and the powers of action be well husbanded and diligently exercised. The promises of long life, and of strength in old age, depend for their fulfilment, perhaps, not less upon the general arrangements of Prov-

idence, than upon any special interpositions in behalf of the virtuous. Nor is it necessary that the mental powers should decay with the physical. The relations of the soul to the body are such that it may rise undimmed from the ruin of the latter. It indeed seems to be the normal condition of the case, that when the body falls, like the ripe fruits of autumn, in healthy maturity, it should leave the soul—of which it is only an appendage—uninjured by the separation. It is that forced maturity which arises from blighting or disease that carries down soul and body together into feebleness and drivelling senility. Bishop Hedding at threescore and ten, though physically worn out, possessed his mental powers unenfeebled, and buoyant with instinctive energy, as the result and recompense of temperance and well-regulated mental and bodily activity.

It is often found to be the severest trial of faith to which the Christian minister, who loves the work of his calling, is subjected, to be forced to believe that his work is done. It was probably not less the blameless promptings of nature, than zeal for the cause of God, that suggested to the poet of Methodism the prayer, that he might

"His body with his cross lay down,
And cease at once to work and live."

The conflict of that hour is often most painfully severe, especially when it comes suddenly and unexpectedly. Such, however, was not Bishop Hedding's case, for he had long awaited that solemn crisis with a cheerful expectation. At first, from the violence of the attack that prostrated him, it appeared that his release was about to be sudden; and with this prospect before him his soul exulted in holy joy. And when, by the mitigation of his malady, a temporary reprieve was granted him, his spirit still enjoyed the unutterable peace of the Gospel. But the last spiritual conflict was not yet past. After resting in this heavenly frame of mind for three months from his first attack, he became the subject of the most fearful temptations. His heart seemed to misgive him; the evidences of the truth of Christianity, though logically conclusive, failed to sustain him; and even his own experience of the divine faithfulness became unavailing. But he who through grace, had foiled the adversary in a thousand conflicts, was not now "ignorant of his devices." Seeing that the tempter had attacked not the judgment, but the feelings, he did not attempt to reason himself out of his painful doubts, but called mightily on God for the aid of the Spirit, to dispel these fearful clouds from his soul; and the triumph presently granted him, was as complete as the conflict had

been severe. From that time till his decease, his peace was uninterrupted, and his assurance unclouded. Seldom, perhaps, has the poet's picture of "the chamber where the good man meets his fate" been more fully realized, than in his case. There were witnessed the holy quiet, the immovable calmness, and the profound peace which distinguishes that most heavenly of earthly scenes. Yet in all this holy peace, there was no mingling of self-commendation or confidence in what he had done; but the deepest humiliation and self-abasement, coupled with a simple reliance on the atonement for present and eternal salvation.

"I have been a most fallible creature," were his own words, uttered but a short time before his decease: "I have always needed the atonement of Christ, and have trusted in that alone for the forgiveness of all my shortcomings. I used to wonder how it could be that Christ could have mercy on such a poor miserable sinner as I am, and save me. There was a kind of mist over the subject; but within a few days this has all been cleared away. I now see such goodness, such glory, such power in the Redeemer, that there is now no difficulty in it."

The closing scene shall be presented in the biographer's own words:—

"About three o'clock on the morning of the ninth of April, 1852, a change took place betokening the near approach of death. Early in the morning his sufferings were great; his extremities were cold, and his death agony was upon him; but his intellectual powers—consciousness, perception, memory, reason, were unaffected. Several Christian friends witnessed his dying struggles, and the glorious triumph of his abiding faith. The Rev. M. Richardson came in, and inquired whether his prospect was clear; he replied with great emphasis: 'O, yes, *yes*, YES! I have been wonderfully sustained of late, beyond the usual degree.' After a pause, he added: *I trust in Christ, and he does not disappoint me. I feel him, I enjoy him, and I look forward to an inheritance in his kingdom.*"

* * * * *

"Thus passed away one of the purest and noblest spirits of our earth. He died as might have been augured from his character and life; he died as the Christian only can die. Up to the last moments of earthly communion, he was calm and serene. Eternity was breaking upon his view, but he knew in whom he had believed. To see the Christian, who, with the intellect of a philosopher and the wisdom of a sage, had scanned the evidences and the doctrines of the Gospel to their very depths; to see such a one maturing for the skies, going forth to the last conflict with no misgivings of spirit—calmly, firmly, constantly trusting in the atonement of his Saviour; to mark his trembling humility, the low estimate he placed upon his services in the Church of Christ, and upon his Christian piety—these were privileges of no ordinary moment, and afforded lessons of indescribable value."—Pp. 658-662.

Long as this article has become, we find ourselves compelled to close it abruptly, omitting several important points which we had marked for notice—especially the author's estimate of Bishop Hedding's character, found in the last chapter of the volume, and the Introduc-

tion by Bishop Janes. We, however, regret these omissions the less since it is not our purpose to make this paper a substitute for the volume itself, but rather to invite the reader's attention to it, and to excite in him a desire to peruse it. There only can he find full satisfaction upon the subject.

ART. VII.—HUC'S TRAVELS IN CHINA.

A Journey through the Chinese Empire, by M. HUC, author of *Recollections of a Journey through Tartary and Thibet*. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 12mo.

M. HUC's volumes present a picture of Chinese morals and manners which would form one of the most amusing publications of the day if it were not at the same time the most revolting and saddening. The sight of a vast empire demoralized and brought into a state of practical—nay more, even theoretical—disbelief of justice, mercy, and truth in this world and the next, is surely enough to make the light heart heavy. All this is none the less painful from the evidence these volumes afford of the general diffusion of education, industry and ingenuity among the Chinese. M. Huc has evidently a strong and serious feeling with regard to the condition of this great people, and a wish to make them better. Of this we need no stronger proof than the earnestness with which he devoted himself to the missionary work among them; enduring on this account a voluntary exile of many years from his native land. As a Roman Catholic propagandist, he cannot, of course, command our sympathies; nor, indeed, would he thank us for them. Whatever of Christian feeling or thought may exist in China, he ascribes, everywhere and always, to his own Church. Thus, for instance, after speaking of the prevalence of Christian doctrines among the Chinese insurrectionists, he says:—

“The Chinese have also for a long time had at their command a precious collection of books of Christian doctrine, composed by the ancient missionaries, and which even, in a purely literary point of view, are much esteemed in the Empire. These books are diffused in great numbers throughout all the provinces, and it is more probable that the Chinese innovators have drawn the ideas in question from these sources than from the Bibles prudently deposited by the Methodists on the sea-shore.”

Yet M. Huc is wonderfully charitable for one of his faith; or

rather, he *means* to be so. His sins generally lie more in the way of omission than of commission; and consist in a total forgetfulness of any Christian labours without the pale of his own communion. In truth, these volumes say little about M. Huc's missionary labours, or about religion in any sense, for reasons thus assigned:—

"It is our purpose to address readers of all opinions, and to make China known to all; not merely to preserve the memory of facts connected with our mission. These interesting particulars must be sought in the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith," those veritable bulletins of the Church militant in which are recorded the acts of apostles, the virtues of neophytes, and the struggles and sufferings of martyrs. Our object in these volumes has been to describe the theatre of this peaceful warfare, and to make known the populations that the Church of God desires to subject to her rule, and bring within her fold. We hope it will then be more easy to understand the long struggles of Christianity in China, and to appreciate its victories."—P. xxi.

Opportunities for accurate observation have seldom or never been enjoyed by travellers in China, who are restricted by the *exclusive* spirit of the Chinese, to a stay in Macao and Canton, with, perhaps, a visit of form to Peking. M. Huc gives so good an account of their privileges that we quote his words:—

"The situation of travellers in China is not usually an enviable one. At their departure from Canton they are imprisoned in closed boats; they are guarded carefully from sight all along the great canal; they are what we may call put under arrest immediately on their arrival at Peking; and, after two or three official receptions and interrogatories, they are hastily sent back again. As they are not allowed the slightest communication with the outer world, they can really describe from their own knowledge nothing more than the hedge of soldiers by which they have been surrounded, the songs of the boatmen who have accompanied them, the formalities employed by the inspectors who have searched them, and the evolutions of the *grandees* who prostrated themselves with them before the Son of Heaven. The history of the whole affair has been given by one of these travellers with as much *naïveté* as precision. He says, 'They entered Peking like beggars, staid in it like prisoners, and were driven from it like thieves.'"—Pp. xix, xx.

Over travellers such as these our author has certainly great advantages; a ten years' residence in the celestial empire, with French manners, Jesuitical cunning, and perfect command of the language, gave him opportunities for familiar intercourse with Chinese society, even in its higher ranks, which no other European has ever enjoyed. Nor was the author's long stay his only advantage. He and his companion travelled from the borders of Thibet to Canton as state prisoners, with all their expenses paid in the most liberal manner from the imperial treasury. They were lodged everywhere at the "Communal palaces," at which only the *grandees* of the empire or envoys of government are entitled to be entertained. The account of this triumphal

° Account of the Embassy of Lord Macartney.

tour (for thus the genius of M. Huc developed it) is indeed marvellous. Many a time does he make large drafts upon our faith, causing us to remember the parting paragraphs in the preface which he quotes from the scarcely more marvellous accounts of the Venetian, Marco Polo. Yet, withal, we are inclined to give M. Huc credit for a good share of veracity, unless where the "honor and glory of his Church and her orders" are concerned.

The portion of his Chinese experience which our traveller does give us here, is incomparably interesting; narrated, moreover, in a most readable manner, which is a great consideration. The clear, logical Frenchman, with all his tact and talent, is visible in every page. Quick-witted and quick-sighted, he seizes and displays the novelties which China is so rich in, with graphic and even dramatic skill. His coolness and ready repartee stood him in good stead in dealing with the mandarins, for they respect courage and enjoy wit. Moreover these Mandarin directors of society are not accustomed to equals; to superiors they give implicit reverence; inferiors they govern with an iron hand. Travellers generally fall into the last category; but M. Huc was too wary even for the serpentine Mandarins; and they always appear *hors du combat* at the close of these laughable encounters. His perpetual good humour is also a marked characteristic, which makes him a most desirable travelling companion. Always taking the soft side of inconveniences, and the bright side of disappointments, his cheerfulness is quite infectious, and keeps the reader good humoured in spite of himself. When the Chinese, under pretence of treating them better, would treat them worse than their written instructions warranted, the polite Frenchman could not think of giving so much trouble, and insists upon his courteous hosts doing "nothing more than the viceroy has directed." Again when the travellers are taken to a miserable inn, (though by name the "Hotel of Accomplished Wishes,") instead of the communal palace at which they should have been lodged, the missionary could not think of remaining there, because "it would so much grieve the viceroy to hear how his commands had been disregarded." The prefect who has charge of the palace does not decline this great honour by telling the truth, and saying it costs too much money; that would be entirely unlike a Chinese, to whom a lie seems always best. He declares how unbounded would be his joy at entertaining (for even a day) men from the great kingdom of France, but, alas! the palace is in such fearful disorder from workmen; and, moreover, there are in the grand saloon seven or eight coffins containing the dead bodies of official persons of the district, waiting till their families should come to remove and bury them. This last argument

would indeed have proved conclusive to most Europeans; but, alas for the prefect's pocket, he had found his match in diplomacy for once. The missionary replies,

"That since probably the viceroy was not aware of the communal palace having been converted into a cemetery, it would be well to write to him to that effect; since, if he happened to travel this way himself, he might not, perhaps, find it pleasant to take up his abode among coffins and dead bodies; but that as far as we were concerned it did not make the slightest difference, as we were not much afraid of the living, and not at all of the dead. We should go to the palace, therefore, and did not doubt but we should be able to make ourselves very comfortable there. The prefect did his utmost to deter us from this "almost insane" project; and at last, to have done with him, we told him that he might settle the matter at his good pleasure, provided only that he would write and sign a statement that we, having wished to rest for a day at the communal palace of Kien-tcheou, had not been allowed to do so on account of its being in an uninhabitable state. The prefect perfectly understood our meaning; and turning to some subaltern officers who were in waiting, he said: 'I am of the same way of thinking as our guests; it is absolutely necessary they should have a day of repose. Let orders be immediately sent to Koung-kouan to take away the coffins and put things as they ought to be, and let the guardians take care not to be again guilty of the same fault.' Ten minutes afterward we were proceeding in state, in our new palanquins, to the communal palace. As we went out we just whispered in the ear of Master Ting, 'Remember, if we are not properly treated, we will remain two days instead of one.' Strange country, in which it is necessary to behave in this way in order not to be oppressed and ill-treated yourself."—Vol. i, pp. 200, 201.

The result proved the Frenchman's sagacity, for the palace was by far the most elegant they had yet seen, and they were treated with great distinction. This capacity for outmanœuvring even the wily Chinese would indeed make our traveller seem contemptible, if we did not keep in mind, that he was playing for his life, which was in the hands of his escort; and one false or timorous move would probably have ended their pilgrimage in some ditch behind the ramparts of a Chinese town, as many of their worthy predecessors had finished theirs.

Let us leave M. Huc's personal narrative for a time, that we may look at the facts he gives in reference to these curious people. The most striking feature of the Chinese is their entire dissimilarity to every other nation. All their habits and customs appear to us inverted. Whether we take externals—which display the hair removed from the crown and eyebrows and falling below the knees in long tails, the faces stained an orange colour to increase their beauty—or conquering our antipathy for these strange looking specimens of humanity we follow our author into the dining saloon, to the school, or to the state apartment, there is the same feeling of contrast and opposition. True, we have been told wonderful stories of the Chinese cuisine; of the dishes prepared with castor oil,

of shark fins, fish gizzards, goose feet, peacocks' combs and other delicacies of the same sort; but all these wonders exist, according to M. Huc, in the imagination of the traveller, or perhaps in the mischievous attempts of the Canton merchants, who sometimes amuse themselves by inventing dishes for Europeans which a Chinaman has never seen. Surely, however, to begin dinner with the dessert and end it with soup; "to drink wine smoking hot out of little China cups, and have your food brought to you ready cut up into small pieces; to be presented with a couple of sticks instead of a knife and fork to eat with; to have a quantity of little bits of coloured silk paper beside your plate, instead of napkins, which are carried off by the attendants as soon as used;" to leave your place between the courses to smoke or amuse yourself; to put your chop sticks on your head and then across your tea cup as an indication that you have dined; all these are enough to satisfy the most inveterate searcher for novelties, without need of further wonders in the *quality* of the viands.

In the paying of visits, everything is prescribed by a code of etiquette called "the Rites," which details the minutest particulars, and is obeyed with religious exactness; a great saving of embarrassment, doubtless, but a wonderful expenditure of ceremonious words and genuflections; in flexions of all sorts, in fact; for hands, head and knees have alike an active part to perform. In some of these polite phrases we are reminded of the French leaders of *ton* and our own followers of them; who, in striving to follow, far outstrip their more graceful masters. The Chinese "gentleman," when intending to call upon a friend must despatch a servant several hours before hand with a note, which is apt to run thus: "Your disciple, or your younger brother so and so has come to bow his head to the ground before you and to offer you his respects." This phrase implies an inquiry as to his friend's willingness to receive him; it is written on red paper; the size of the sheet being regulated by the rank of the person addressed and the degree of respect to be testified. Even the size of the letters bear the same proportion to the magnitude of the individual. Large characters must be used when you wish to mingle a certain air of "stateliness with your courtesy," and the characters diminish in proportion to the interest one has in appearing humble and respectful. The conversation must always begin on indifferent, mostly insignificant subjects, and gradually rise in importance till the last moment, when you may explain what really brought you there. M. Huc concludes his account of one of these ceremonies: "The visitor then rises and says, 'I have been troublesome to you a very long time;' and doubtless of all Chinese compli-

ments, this is the one that most frequently approaches the truth." Another part of this pantomime requires that when invited to *stay*, one should have the politeness to *go* immediately. Our good missionaries, under cover of their want of Chinese breeding, often opposed these exactions; and many a laugh have we enjoyed at the expense of these unwilling hosts, who "were so overwhelmed with shame at these undeserved honours to their mean and unworthy selves."

As to the state of the people generally, M. Huc's narrative gives us little cause for hopefulness; a supreme indifference to truth, and capacity for lying, seems to pervade the whole vast empire. Whether we look at the officers of state or their menials, the gentleman or the tradesman, prefects or mandarins, all are alike (with a very few exceptions) deceitful and treacherous. The mandarins with whom our traveller had to deal, were almost universally of this character; lying to and cheating each other and the travellers with equal assiduity; yielding only to superior cunning or superior strength. There is one exceptional case, however, which is so pleasing that we quote the account of the interview:—

"The first magistrate of I-tou-hien is, unquestionably, the most accomplished person we ever met among the Chinese functionaries. He was quite a young man, somewhat weakly, with a pale face, apparently attenuated by study. He had obtained the degree of doctor in Peking, when he was scarcely more than a child; and his gentle and spiritual-looking countenance was rather set off than otherwise by a pair of gold-rimmed spectacles of European manufacture. His conversation, full of good sense, refinement, and modesty, was really delightful; and the exquisite politeness of his manners might have reconciled any one, ever so averse to them, to the Chinese rites. On our arrival we found a splendid collation of delicious fruit, laid out in a cool, fresh pavilion, in the midst of a garden shaded by large trees. Among the rarities of this rich desert we remarked with pleasure cherries of a brilliant red colour, fine peaches, and other fruits that do not grow in the province of Hou-pé, and we could not help expressing our surprise at the circumstance. 'How could you possibly procure such rare fruit?' said we to our amiable Mandarin.

"'When one wishes to please friends,' said he, 'one always finds means to do so. The resources of the heart are inexhaustible.'

"We passed the whole day and part of the night in talking to this interesting Chinese. He had many questions to ask concerning the various nations of Europe; and he always made his inquiries in a serious, judicious manner, worthy of a man of high intelligence. He did not ask one of the puerile, silly questions to which his brother Mandarins had accustomed us so much. Geography appeared to be the subject that most interested him, and he had a great deal of very accurate knowledge concerning it. He surprised us very much by asking whether the European governments had not yet realized the project of cutting through the isthmus of Suez, so as to connect the Mediterranean with the Indian Ocean; and we found him very well informed concerning the extent and importance of the five parts of the world; and the space that China occupies upon the globe."—Vol. i, p. 340.

It may surprise our readers a little to hear of a great difference in manners and customs in different parts of China; these vary as much,

perhaps, as in Europe. Yet it is not really surprising when we remember the vast extent of the empire, and that it is composed of a number of kingdoms, under the dominion of various princes, and ruled by distinct legislation. All these governors are under the rule and appointment of the emperor, who calls himself the "Father of his people." He is also called "August Elevation," and "August Sovereign;" "but his title *par excellence* is Tien-tze, or Son of Heaven."

"Being the son of Heaven, and consequently, according to the Chinese expression, Father and Mother of the Empire, the Emperor has a right to the respect, the veneration, the worship even of his children. His authority is absolute; it is he who makes and who abolishes the laws, who grants privileges to Mandarins or degrades them, to whom alone belongs the power over life and death, who is the source of all administrative and judicial authority, who has at his disposal the whole power and revenues of the empire; in one word, the state is the emperor. His omnipotence, indeed, extends even farther, for he can transmit this enormous power to whom he pleases, and choose his successor among his children, without any law of inheritance imposing a restraint upon him in his choice."—Vol. i, p. 106.

Absolute as this authority is, it has limits; the appointment of all officers, civil or military, is in the Emperor's hands, but he must make his choice from the "lettered class *only*," and in conformity to certain established arrangements. Universal suffrage is granted to the three hundred millions of mortals this father numbers in his family; and every distinction is accessible to all, without regard to wealth or position. One *sine qua non* there is, however; applicants must undergo an examination upon literary subjects, and the result of this proves them worthy of an appointment in the first, second, or third ranks. All officers, civil and military, are divided into nine orders, which are distinguished from each other by coloured balls the size of a pigeon's egg, worn above the official caps. Plain red coral marks the first order; carved, the second; deep blue the third; pale blue the fourth; crystal the fifth; white the sixth; gilt and wrought copper the remainder. Here we have another instance of the *inverting* genius of the Chinese—for titles are not hereditary, nor do they bestow any rank upon the sons; but look backward and ennoble the ancestors of the fortunate individual; an idea too whimsical for any but the retrograde brain of a Chinese. Yet we must look with a little respect upon this *literary* aristocracy. Surely the organization of the government of a vast empire by literary qualifications alone, is a grand thought, if the material for its execution were equal to the conception. The government of China is indeed a vast system of centralization, of which the emperor is the centre. Invented many centuries ago, and preserved almost intact by the blind veneration of the people for what has been handed

down to them, numberless revolutions have served to modify it a very little, without ever once shaking its foundations. Of the present revolution M. Huc is very chary in giving judgment; leaving time to give a verdict for him; a species of wisdom we shall do well to imitate.

Let us look for a moment at the educational advantages M. Huc sets forth as belonging to the Chinese. "There is *no* country," he says, "in which primary instruction is so widely diffused as this; there is no little village, not even groups of houses in which a teacher is not found, and every Chinese knows how to read and write. On their junks, even on the small canal boats, one is sure to find an arithmetical machine, an annual register, pamphlets, a writing-desk and writing (not pens but) brushes for the use of the sailors." The Chinese tutor is charged "not only with the *instruction* (as our author expresses it) but also with the *education* of his pupil." Morals and manners, with the forms and ceremonies of both public and private life, all come within his jurisdiction. Their chief branches of instruction are writing, reading, and a good deal of learning by heart; which last the Chinese insist is the true method for elementary instruction. Their most popular primary work is a sort of encyclopædia called the Sacred Trimetrical Book, which is a concise summary of the chief branches of knowledge the Chinese call science. This, well committed to memory, is followed by the "classical" books, which are mostly composed from the text of their great philosopher Confucius. Amid masses of rubbish there are here some gems of real worth which we thank M. Huc for giving us. But our limits forbid more than one quotation exhibiting a school in progress:—

"For the knowledge and good pronunciation of the character, the master at the beginning of the lesson, repeats a certain number to each pupil, according to his capacity. They then all return to their places, repeating their lesson in a chanting tone, and rocking themselves backward and forward. The uproar and confusion of a Chinese school, in which every pupil is vociferating his own particular monosyllables in his own particular tone, without at all troubling himself about his neighbour, may easily be imagined. While they are thus chanting and rocking about, the master of the school, like the leader of a band, keeps his ears pricked and attentive to all that is going on, shouting out his amendments from time to time to those who are missing the true intonation. As soon as the pupil thinks he has his lesson perfectly impressed on his memory, he goes up to the master, makes a low bow, presents his book, turns his back, and repeats what he has learnt. This is what they call *pey-chou*, 'turning the back on a book;' that is, saying a lesson.

"The Chinese character is so large, and so easy to distinguish, even at a great distance, that this method does not appear superfluous, if the point is to ascertain whether the pupil is really repeating from memory. The bawling and rocking themselves about is considered to lessen the fatigue of study."—Vol. i, pp. 133, 134.

And now, a brief survey of the religious element in this vast empire, must conclude this paper. If we glance first at the Christians of China, we cannot come to any favourable impression from the narrative of the French missionary. In point of numbers he rates them at about eight hundred thousand, which sounds well *only* when far separated from the three hundred millions which inhabit this country. Then, too, if we inquire yet more closely we find that but a very small proportion of these know anything more than the mere name, which their baptism (it may be in childhood) has imposed upon them. These same Christians profess Buddhism or Mohammedanism if it seems profitable, and again Christianity if they wish to get married or receive some favour at the hands of the priest. Romanist as he is, M. Huc rarely speaks with satisfaction of their sincerity or faithfulness. It is to be hoped, however, that the fruits of Protestantism do not so nearly resemble apples of Sodom, as (from these accounts) do those of Romanism in China. The government, professedly tolerant of all religions, under the avowed belief that all are alike false, looks upon Christianity with an evil eye, under the belief that its missionaries are secretly agents of their governments at home, who are sent with the hope of making subjects for an earthly instead of a heavenly king. An instance we give below:—

“The Christian religion is designated in China as Tien-tchou-kiao, that is to say, the religion of the Lord of Heaven; the idea of God being expressed by the word Tien-tchou. One day we were speaking of religion with a really superior sort of Mandarin, a very intelligent fellow. He asked us who was that Tien-tchou, whom the Christians adore and invoke, and who had promised to render them rich and happy in such an extraordinary manner. ‘Why,’ said we, ‘do you, a learned man of the first class, a well-instructed man, and one who has read the books of our religion, do you ask this? Do you not know who is the Tien-tchou of the Christians?’

“‘Ah, you are right,’ said he, putting his hand to his forehead, as if to recall a half-vanishing recollection; ‘you are right, I ought to know; but I really had forgotten all about this Tien-tchou.’

“‘Well, you know now; who is he then?’

“‘Oh, to be sure, everybody knows—he is the Emperor of the French!’”—
Vol. i, pp. 173, 174.

The Chinese feeling in regard to religion is generally that of supreme indifference. Materialism seems rooted and grounded in the very nature of the people. They have many animal enjoyments, and a few intellectual; but the idea of God, the soul, or a future state seems incomprehensible to them. True, they will talk on all these subjects with not a little show of sense, but you discover at last that your most earnest efforts have been thrown away and your listener is just where you found him. Nothing more plainly indicates this desolating scepticism than a

formula of politeness exchanged between persons on their first meeting:—

"It is customary to ask to 'what sublime religion' you belong. One, perhaps, will call himself a Confucian, another a Buddhist, a third a disciple of Lao-tze, a fourth a follower of Mohammed, of whom there are many in China, and then every one begins to pronounce a panegyric on the religion to which he does not belong, as politeness requires, after which they all repeat in chorus, '*Pou-toun-kiao, toun-ly*,' 'Religions are many; reason is one; we are all brothers.' This phrase is on the lips of every Chinese, and they bandy it from one to the other with the most exquisite urbanity. It is indeed a clear and concise expression of their feelings on religious questions. In their eyes, a worship is merely an affair of taste and fashion, to which no more importance is to be attached than to the colour of your garments."—Vol. ii, p. 192.

This indifference is, indeed, as M. Huc says, the chronic malady of China, and it must prove the greatest of all barriers to the progress of the truth. The following account so aptly illustrates the state of mind in question, and affords so complete a specimen of the difficulties which Christian missionaries must encounter in approaching the better educated men of China, that we quote it at length:—

"In one of the principle towns of China, we were for some time in communication with a lettered Chinese, who appeared extremely well disposed to embrace Christianity. We had several conferences together, and we studied carefully the most important and difficult points of doctrine, and finally, by way of complement to our oral instruction, we read some of the best books. Our dear catechumen admitted, without any exception, everything we advanced; the only difficulty was, he said, the learning by heart the prayers, that every good Christian ought to know, in order to say them morning and evening. As he seemed nevertheless to desire putting off to some indefinite period the moment in which he should declare himself a Christian, every time he came to see us we urged him to do so, and made the most earnest representation of the duty of following the truth, now that he knew where it lay. 'By-and-by,' said he; 'all in good time. One should never be precipitate.' One day, however, he spoke out a little more. 'Come,' said he, 'let us speak to-day only words conformable to reason. It is not good to be too enthusiastic. No doubt the Christian religion is beautiful and sublime; its doctrine explains, with method and clearness, all that it is necessary for man to know. Whoever has any sense must see that, and will adopt it in his heart in all sincerity; but, after all, one must not think too much of these things, and increase the cares of life. Now, just consider—we have a body; how many cares it demands! It must be clothed, fed, and sheltered from the injuries of the weather; its infirmities are great, and its maladies numerous. It is agreed on all hands, that health is our most precious good. This body that we see, that we touch, must be taken care of every day, and every moment of the day. Now is not this enough, without troubling ourselves about a soul that we never do see? The life of man is short and full of misery; it is made up of a succession of important concerns, that follow one another without interruption. Our hearts and our minds are scarcely sufficient for the solicitudes of the present life—is it wise then to torment one's self about the future one?"

"'Doctor,' we replied, 'you said when you began, that our discourse to-day should be a reasonable one; but take care, for it often happens, that we think we are listening to the voice of reason, when in fact only prejudice and habit are speaking. Our bodies are full of infirmities you say; that is true, for they

are perishable; and it is for that very reason that we should do better to concern ourselves about our souls, which are immortal, and which certainly exist, though we cannot see them. Our present life, you say, is a tissue of paltry cares. Undoubtedly it is—and that is precisely why it is reasonable to think of that future life which will have no end. What would you think of a traveller who on finding himself at a dilapidated inn, open to all the winds and deficient in the most absolute necessities, should spend all his time in trying how he could make himself most comfortable in it, without ever thinking of preparing for his departure, and his return into the bosom of his family? Would this traveller be acting in a wise and reasonable manner?

"'No! no!' replied the doctor; 'one must not travel in that way; but man, nevertheless, ought to confine himself within proper limits. How can he provide for two lives at the same time? If the traveller ought not regularly to take up his abode at an inn, neither ought he to travel on two roads at the same time. When one wishes to cross a river, one must not have two boats, and set a foot in each; one would run the risk of tumbling into the water, and drowning one's self.' This was all we could get out of the doctor, who nevertheless was really a worthy fellow enough, but a most thorough *Chinese*.'"—Vol. i, pp. 177-179.

But the capstone of all their curious customs and ideas, is the popular belief concerning the soul's escape from the body, which they look upon as a voluntary thing on the part (not of the individual) but of the obstinate soul, which has a will of its own to carry it away from its mortal tenement. Therefore, in case of serious illness, all means must be tried to detain the unwilling guest, or compel its return if it has started upon its journey. Prayers and persuasion are tried; then the sufferings of the bereaved family, with ample promises of good treatment from all are detailed. If these means are not successful, force must be used to retain, or threats to frighten back the prisoner. Doors and windows are closed, and the family and friends run in all directions through the room, uttering most fearful cries. Mourning is systematized into a grand farce. Hired mourners fill the air with lamentations and quite relieve the bereaved from the necessity of having any feeling at all. Death is viewed by the Chinese with a sort of animal indifference which is truly shocking. A fine coffin, however, is considered an indispensable part of the household furnishing of all, more or less ornamental, according to the circumstances of the possessor. Children often, when wishing to make their parents a valuable present, put it in this shape, without a fear of its proving an unwelcome remembrancer of mortality.

We should be glad, if it were possible, to lay hold upon one lofty principle in this demoralized people, to wind up our brief summary of their habits; but great as is our inclination, we have no facts, and, therefore, can only hope that this gross darkness is an indication of the dawn of a brighter day.

ART. VIII.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—MILTON.

(1.) "*The Rich Kinsman*, by S. H. TYNG, D. D.," (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 425,) contains a series of lectures on the book of Ruth, delivered to the youth of the author's congregation on Sunday afternoons. Some parts of the story are made to bear a little too much weight, in the way of allegorizing interpretation; but the book abounds in Christian exhortation and instruction, conveyed in a very pleasing form.

(2.) "*A Treatise on English Punctuation*, by JOHN WILSON," (Boston: Wilson & Son, 1855; 12mo., pp. 333,) is the most complete treatise on the subject—indeed the only complete one—that we have ever seen. It contains also a great deal of information about proof-reading, &c., and, as a whole, is a book which every man who thinks fit to write for the press should make use of.

(3.) "*The Bible-defended against the Objections of Infidelity*, by the Rev. W. H. BRISBANE," (Philadelphia: Higgins & Perkinpine, 1855; 12mo., pp. 179.) This book is prepared, as the author modestly tells us, in view of "the wants of Sunday-school teachers and scholars;" but it has merit sufficient to command readers of other classes as well. It does not aim to exhibit, in detail, the evidences of Christianity, but to refute certain infidel objections to the contents of Scripture, such as those currently alleged against the account of the deluge, the divine anger, &c. It is, in fact, a concise commentary upon many passages that present difficulties to unlearned readers, and which are, therefore, dexterously made use of by cavillers.

(4.) The issues of BOHN'S LIBRARIES are continued with unvarying punctuality and promptitude, and the excellence of the series appears to grow with its growth. Of the "Ecclesiastical Library" we have recently received "*The Works of Philo Judæus*," translated by C. D. Yonge, (3 vols., 12mo;) and "*The Ecclesiastical Histories of Sozomen and Philostorgius*," translated by Edward Walford, (1 vol., 12mo.) These editions are more complete and convenient than any that have heretofore appeared.—Of the "Classical Library" we have just received "*Demosthenes' Orations on the Crown and on the Embassy*," translated by C. R. Kennedy, (1 vol., 12mo;) "*Suetonius's Lives of the Cæsars*," translated by Dr. Thomson, (1 vol., 12mo;) "*Pliny's Natural History*," translated by Dr. Bostock, (1 vol., 12mo.) In the "Standard Library" we find a reprint of Professor William Smyth's "*Lectures on Modern History*," vol. i, which is to be completed in two volumes. One of the most useful books yet published by Mr. Bohn is the "*Hand-Book of Proverbs*," (1 vol., 12mo., pp. 582,) which contains the whole of Ray's collection of proverbs, with large additions collected by Mr. Bohn, and a copious alphabetical Index. All these publications

are constantly kept on sale by Messrs. Bangs, Brother & Co., 13 Park Row, New-York.

(5.) "*A Treatise on Land Surveying*, by W. M. GILLESPIE, A. M., Professor in Union College." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855; 8vo., pp. 450.) This is certainly the most complete manual of surveying that has yet appeared. It gives a full view of the *theory* deduced, with much skill and originality, from the elementary principle of coördinates; and the *practice* is taught in clear and simple language, with ample illustration. We have not space to give any analysis of this excellent book, but we earnestly commend it to all teachers in schools and colleges.

(6.) "*Rich and Poor, and other Tracts for the Times*, by the Rev. J. C. RYLE," (New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1855; 18mo., pp. 360,) appears to contain a series of lectures by the author, who writes many books, but yet writes some good ones. This strikes us as one of his best, both in its doctrinal and practical tendencies. The essay on the "Church" is sensible and timely: Mr. Ryle, though an Episcopalian, is too much of a Christian to assert that all who are not members of his own sect are guilty schismatics.

(7.) "*The Philosophy of Sectarianism*, by the Rev. ALEXANDER BLAIKIE," (Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co., 1855; 12mo.,) is written by one of the most bigoted sectarians that ever put pen to paper. Every man, in his view, is a sectarian who is not a Presbyterian, and a Scotch seceder at that.

(8.) "*The Chemistry of Common Life*, by JAMES F. JOHNSTON, M. A.," (D. Appleton & Co., 1855; 2 vols., 12mo.,) is an admirable book. It furnishes precisely the kind of knowledge about the world we live in, and the means and conditions of our living, which we most stand in need of, and in which mankind are generally most strangely deficient. It should be a text-book in every family and in every school.

(9.) "*Uhlemann's Syriac Grammar*, translated from the German by E. HUTCHINSON." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855; 8vo., pp. 357.) According to the testimony of the most competent teachers and scholars, Uhlemann's Grammar of the Syriac Language is the best extant. Mr. Hutchinson has not only translated it well, but has added a course of exercises in Syriac Grammar, with a chrestomathy and brief lexicon. With the aid of this book, any one tolerably versed in Hebrew can acquire Syriac with great rapidity.

(10.) "*The Mind of Jesus*," (New-York: Carters; 18mo., pp. 132,) contains a series of practical essays on the principal traits in the character of the Saviour.

(11.) "*Methodist Family Manual*, by the Rev. C. R. LOVELL," (Cincinnati: Applegate & Co.,) contains the articles of religion, with scriptural proofs, the rules of the societies, with practical notes, and a brief catechism of experimental religion. It is adapted to be very useful as a family book.

(12.) "*The Universe no Desert, and the Earth no Monopoly.*" (Boston: James Munroe & Co., 1855; 2 vols. in one; 12mo., pp. 130 and 239.) The chief object of this treatise is to prove that the planetary and stellar orbs are habitable; but we do not think it successful. The best part of the work is the preliminary volume, which treats of the unity of plan in the creation as exemplified by the comparison of the sciences.

(13.) KIRWAN'S LETTERS have had a world-wide circulation. They are now republished, under an enlarged form, under the title of "*Letters to the Rt. Rev. John Hughes.*" (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 370.) Prefixed to the letters is an introduction, showing that "Romanism is not the religion for America;" and the valuable essay on "The Decline of Popery, and its Causes," by the same author, is printed at the end. In its present form, the work will find, as it deserves, a permanent place on the library shelves.

(14.) "*Reply to Howell on the Evils of Infant Baptism,* by the Rev. L. ROSSE, A. M." (Richmond: 1855; 18mo., pp. 160.) Of Dr. Howell we know nothing, except that he is pastor of a Baptist church in Richmond, and has written a most truculent book against baptism as practised by the evangelical Church in all ages. Mr. Rosser gives a thorough review of the book, and sets forth its sophistical and even slanderous character in strong language; but not stronger than the case demanded.

(15.) "*Speeches and Addresses,* by HENRY W. HILLIARD." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1855; 8vo., pp. 497.) The interest of the topics discussed in many of these speeches has passed away; but they deserve preservation from their beauty of form, and from the good principles which generally underlie them. Mr. Hilliard is one of the most liberal and national of the Southern statesmen, and would go as far, perhaps, as any other of his class, in recognising the existence and the rights of the free states; but even *his* nationality, as shown in certain passages in this book, is always limited, when the interests of slavery are involved. He would regard the dissolution of the Union as a calamity; but he would consider the exclusion of slavery from new territories by act of Congress as a greater! Mr. Hilliard's tone, throughout, is that of a sincere and earnest man; and his style has a degree of dignity in accordance with the character of the man and the elevation of his line of thought.

(16.) "*Memoir of Mrs. Lucy T. Lord.*" (American Baptist Publication Society, 1855; 18mo., pp. 288.) This little volume contains a precious record of Christian courage and devotion. Mrs. Lord was the wife of the Rev. E. T. Lord, of the Chinese Baptist Mission, and died in 1853, shortly after returning from Ningpo. The book is simple, unpretending, even careless in style; but it is full of Christian feeling and missionary spirit.

(17.) "*The Six Days of Creation : or, the Scriptural Cosmology, with the ancient idea of Time-Worlds, as distinguished from Worlds in Space*, by TAYLER LEWIS." (Schenectady: G. F. Vandebogert, 1855; 12mo., pp. 407.) Whatever may be thought of the results reached by Professor Lewis in this volume, it is very certain that it contains the most elaborate and thorough investigation of the question, from the philological point of view, that has ever appeared. Its aim is to show that "the creative periods are indefinite, or of a duration not measurable by any subordinate divisions of time derived from the present settled constitution of things." The author's procedure is strictly philological; his object is to find out what the *Scriptures really teach* on this subject; not, to evade or explain away the force of their teachings.

(18.) "*Support of the Ministry*, by A. D. WILLIAMS." (Providence: Day & Co., 1855; 12mo., pp. 72.) This well-conceived essay is divided into three parts, of which the first shows that "the ministry should be supported;" while the second gives an estimate of the proper amount of such support; and the third discusses the methods by which it should be raised.

(19.) "*Art-Hints: Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, by J. J. JARVES." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 398.) The aim of this book is to present, in a popular form, the abstract principles and rules of art, with an outline of its historical progress and social relations. So much nonsense is uttered about "high art," that it is refreshing to get hold of a book treating sensibly, and yet with adequate enthusiasm, of a subject with regard to which the American people are, as yet, intensely ignorant. Mr. Jarves is a thinker as well as an observer; he has studied well the relations of art to Christianity and civilization, and sets them forth in simple, yet manly and forcible language. No single book yet published will do as much as this to foster a genuine love of art, founded upon a just appreciation of its necessity to the complete and healthful development of humanity.

(20.) "*The Hebrew Missionary*, by the Rev. JOSEPH CROSS, D. D.," (Nashville: Stevenson & Owen; 18mo., pp. 242,) contains a series of essays, exegetical and practical, on the book of Jonah. Dr. Cross has made use of the recent discoveries in Nineveh for the illustration of Jonah; and has, in fact, made an excellent practical commentary on the book.

(21.) "*A Visit to the Camp before Sevastopol*, by R. C. McCORMICK, JR." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855; 12mo., pp. 212.) Mr. McCormick spent several weeks in the camp before Sevastopol, and had remarkable opportunities for seeing all that could be seen. The officials, English and French, seem to have spared no pains to facilitate his movements. His book gives as clear an account as could be expected of a camp where everything was confusion at the time of his visit. The excellent cuts that accompany the text make it thoroughly intelligible.

(22.) We have received Parts XXIII and XXIV of COPLAND'S "*Dictionary of Practical Medicine*," (New-York: Harper & Brothers,) containing the heads from "Scrofula" to "Symptomatology." Of the merits of this cyclopædia we can only speak from hearsay; medical men give it high praise. The American edition is carefully edited by Dr. C. A. Lee.

(23.) "*Le Curé Manque : Social and Religious Customs in France*," by EUGENE DE COURCILLON." (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 12mo., 1855.) Under a thin veil of story, this little book gives a great deal of minute information with regard to every-day life among a Roman Catholic population. It is as attractive, also, as it is instructive.

(24.) "*An Offering of Sympathy to the Afflicted*," by FRANCIS PARKMAN, D. D." (Boston: James Munroe & Co.; 12mo., pp. 259.) This volume is chiefly a compilation, from various writers, (mostly Unitarian,) of consolatory thoughts and reflections, especially adapted to the grief of parents suffering under the loss of children. The sudden death—by burning—of Dr. Parkman's child, first suggested the preparation of this book, and "taught him more effectually how to sympathize with the sorrowful."

(25.) MESSRS. MUNROE & Co. have published a new edition, from the stereotype plates, of "*Virgil, with English Notes*," by FRANCIS BOWEN, A. M." (1855; 8vo., pp. 600.) With a carefully printed text, this excellent school edition of Virgil offers a body of notes specially adapted to the wants of young students: sufficiently ample on the one hand to afford the aid indispensable to the beginner, and yet avoiding, on the other, the extreme of overloading the commentary. The work is the fruit of ripe scholarship and a trained and sober judgment.

(26.) "*The Magic Word*," by ALTON," (Boston: James Munroe & Co., 1855; 12mo., pp. 183.) contains a collection of verses of various merit. Some of them evince considerable poetic power, while others are worthless.

(27.) "*Mountains and Molehills*," by FRANK MARRYATT." (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 12mo., pp. 393.) This book contains the "recollections of a journal burnt;" as the notes collected by the author during three years' roughing it in California were destroyed by one of those fearful conflagrations which, some years ago, periodically laid San Francisco in ashes. The book is probably all the better for the loss; it seizes upon the prominent points that have remained in the author's memory, and his power of description is so graphic that he makes his pictures live before you. Personally, Mr. Marryatt was an unsuccessful adventurer; but he carried with him to the mines, and brought away, a treasure of good humour, endurance, and hopefulness far richer than the gold for which he worried the hills in vain.

(28.) WE have before spoken, in terms of strong commendation, of Cornell's Primary Geography, and have now to commend, as unreservedly, "*Cornell's Intermediate Geography*." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855; folio, pp. 84.) The peculiar merit of the book lies in the adaptation of the text to the maps, and of both to the wants of *young* students. The maps, instead of being crowded with names of towns, rivers, &c., contain only such as the pupil ought to learn by heart; so that his work is always before him, and *no more*. We commend the book to the careful scrutiny of all teachers.

(29.) "*Outlines of Chemical Analysis*, by DR. HEINRICH WILL, translated by D. Breed, M. D., and L. H. Steiner, M. D." (Boston: James Munroe & Co., 1855; 8vo., pp. 297.) This translation is made from the third edition of Will's Outlines, which was prepared originally for the use of the celebrated chemical laboratory at Giessen. It affords the student all necessary aid in conducting analysis, giving the very latest and best processes in the simplest and clearest forms.

(30.) M. W. DODD has published a new edition of "*The Papal Conspiracy Exposed*, by the Rev. EDWARD BEECHER, D. D." (New-York: 1855; 12mo., pp. 432.) As we gave our judgment of the former edition, we only need say of this that it contains, besides the matter of the former, an excellent letter to the Hon. Joseph R. Chandler, in reply to his speech on the Temporal Power of the Pope.

(31.) MESSRS. STEVENSON & OWEN (for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South,) have republished Watson's "*Apology for the Bible*," with a "*Refutation of the Theological Works of Thomas Paine not noticed by Bishop Watson*, by J. O. SUMMERS, D. D." (Nashville: 1855; 18mo., pp. 228 and 284.) Dr. Summers has made a valuable addition to Watson's sensible book. Paine's Works are more read in certain parts of the country than many people are aware; and the little book before us affords a complete antidote to their poison.

(32.) WE have received "*A Monograph on Mental Unsoundness*, by FRANCIS WHARTON." (Philadelphia: Kay & Brother, 1855; 8vo., pp. 228.) It forms the first part of a forthcoming treatise on medical jurisprudence, and is printed for private circulation only. If the whole work equals this part in clearness and comprehensiveness, it will supersede all other text-books on the subject. Besides a thorough statement of the legal relations of insanity, the work contains a psychological investigation of the subject, which will reward the attention of all who are interested in the study.

(33.) "*Demosthenes on the Crown, with notes*, by J. T. CHAMPLIN," (Boston: James Munroe & Co.; 12mo., pp. 264.) is the best edition of this great oration accessible to American students.

(34.) THE second Burnett prize, in Aberdeen, for the best essay on the evidence of the "Existence, Wisdom, and Goodness of God," was awarded, last year, as our readers have already been informed, to a treatise entitled "*Theism: the Witness of Reason and Nature to an All-Wise and Beneficent Creator*," by the Rev. JOHN TULLOCH, D. D." (New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 431.) The aim of this book is to offer a complete and comprehensive view of natural theology. The first part treats of the *principles* on which the science rests, namely, the doctrine of causation and that of final causes. The author seeks to establish these against the objections of Mill, and the positivists generally; and so to verify the fundamental theistic conception of a First Cause. The second section illustrates these principles in a comprehensive exhibition of the phenomena of the universe, beginning with the cosmical arrangements, and ending with the mental and moral constitution of man. The third part gives a moral argument from freedom, conscience, and reason. The final section treats of the difficulties which the order of human affairs, in connexion with natural phenomena, throws upon the question of the divine wisdom and goodness: for example, pain, sin, death, &c. It will be seen from this outline that the author embraces the whole field of argument, both *a priori* and *a posteriori*, for the being of God; and that he sets himself, also, to meet especially the forms of materialistic scepticism which particularly characterize our own age. As a whole, the book does not come up to the high expectations we had formed of it; but it is, nevertheless, a very valuable contribution to natural theology, and deserves the careful study of every theologian.

(35.) "*A Trifolium*, by HENRY W. CARSTENS." (Boston: James Munroe & Co., 1855; 12mo., pp. 197.) The three "leaves" of this trifolium are, first, a translation from the German of some very pretty allegorical stories; second, a series of original compositions on various topics, by the author; and third, a lecture on the study of the German and other languages. For a foreigner, Mr. Carstens writes very good English.

(36.) "*Star Papers; or, Experiences of Art and Nature*, by HENRY WARD BEECHER." (New-York: J. C. Derby, 1855; 12mo., pp. 359.) It is hardly necessary for us to notice a book which everybody will have read before our journal can appear. These Beechers are certainly wonderful people, and Henry is the most wonderful of them all. With exuberant fancy, inexhaustible feeling, overflowing natural spirits, and keen powers of observation, he unites a faculty of description, of word-painting, unrivalled among recent writers. Above all, he is rich in that abounding sympathy with "man and woman, and sun, and moon, and stars, and trees," which is the essential attribute of true genius. If, by chance, there be any among our readers that have not read "*Star Papers*," we advise them, at once, to buy, beg, or borrow it.

(37.) "*The Life of the Rev. Robert Newton, D. D.*," by THOMAS JACKSON," (New-York: Carlton & Phillips; 12mo., pp. 427,) will be treated in an extended article in our next number. In the meantime we commend it to our readers as a sensible narrative of the life of a very remarkable man.

(38.) "*Essays on the Preaching Required by the Times*, by ABEL STEVENS." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1855; 12mo., pp. 266.) This volume contains several articles originally published in this Journal in 1852, together with a series that appeared in the National Magazine in 1854. The papers have been thoroughly revised by the author, and, in their present shape, they offer a homiletical treatise of rare value. In spite of the periodical form in which they were first published, the Essays develop a continuous and connected line of thought. The first three treat of the comparative inefficiency of the modern pulpit, and assign certain causes for it; proposing, at the same time, definite and well-considered remedies. The fourth and fifth essays set forth, in a very masterly manner, the advantages of extemporaneous preaching. The three following chapters exhibit the characteristics of Methodist preaching in particular, as it was, is, and ought to be. The concluding chapter illustrates the principles taught in the body of the work, by the examples of five of the most eminent preachers that Methodism has produced—Summerfield, Cookman, Bascom, Olin, and Fisk. Prefixed to the work is an excellent introduction, by Dr. Bond.

(39.) "*The American Debater*, by J. N. McELGOTT, LL. D." (New-York: Ivison & Phinney, 1855; 12mo., pp. 312,) is a manual for debating societies, containing rules of order, questions for debate, &c.

(40.) "*Progress, considered with particular reference to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, by the Rev. WILLIAM J. SASSNETT, of Emory College." (Nashville: Stevenson & Owen; 12mo., pp. 320.) This book is, in itself, an indication of "progress" such as we should hardly have looked for in the quarter from which it comes. It starts from the proposition that "Methodism, though once all that the age demanded, is now, relatively, a narrow, restricted system," and that there is, therefore, need of development and expansion. The author thinks that Methodism is hindered and hedged in by its devotion to "the one-idea enterprise" to which it was consecrated in the beginning. The needed development must take place in the spheres of "education, literature, charity, missions, and the ministry;" and these titles constitute the heads of the book. The writer's views of education are very thorough, and they are very boldly expressed. He thinks that all education should be controlled by the Church, and that the ministers should be more completely identified with the work of teaching. He condemns common-school education under state control; and lays down a vast plan, extending from the university, with large endowments, fellowships, &c., down to the parish school. Under the second head—literature—Professor Sassnett again finds signal deficiencies to note; the Methodist Church, he thinks, has never come up to her duty in this respect. He tells us, what may readily be believed, that the disruption of the Church in 1844, was fraught with evil to the South in cutting off the people from their old sources of supply in the way of religious literature, while the new fountains have hardly yet been opened. The Book Concern, he thinks, should never aim at making money, but should now, and forever, discard all idea of profit beyond the mere demand for sustaining the business.

As to the function of the pulpit, the author utters some doctrines which must grate harshly upon Southern ears. He holds that its range of topics has been altogether too narrow; that it should adapt itself to the times, and "address itself to the entire sum of the popular wants." In a Northern writer this language would look very *suspicious*; certainly it does not harmonize with the so-called conservative view, generally maintained in the slaveholding region, that the preacher should confine himself to strictly religious themes, in the narrowest sense of the phrase. But Mr. Sassnett, in other places, "defines his position" in a way to satisfy the most violent and oppressive pro-slavery men. He holds that "slavery, both abstractly and concretely, is defensible on the ground of both philosophy and Scripture." Alas! In his concluding chapter the writer enforces his argument by an earnest exhortation to the Church, founded, among other considerations, on the fact that America holds the "most commanding position" possible, for carrying Christianity to all lands. He tells us that

"the eyes of the civilized world are turned to our own country. So elevated and commanding is its position, that from it are perpetually going out influences, that control largely the current history of the world. If, then, her light be a true light—the light of an exalted Christian civilization—how great and universal are the blessings which it confers!"

How bitter is the unconscious satire of this passage! Professor Sassnett, cannot fail to know that in *no* civilized country—except, perhaps, Russia, really no exception—would or could evangelists holding the Southern doctrine on slavery be received as teachers of morality, much less of "an exalted Christian civilization."

(41.) "*Memoirs of William Wilberforce*, by MARY A. COLLIER." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1855; 18mo., pp. 335.) This is a neat and well-prepared abridgment of the larger life of Wilberforce, compiled by his sons. The selections are judiciously made, and the flow of the narrative is equable and agreeable. This life of one of the few Christian statesmen of modern times deserves to be widely circulated among the youth of this country.

(42.) "*Lays of Ancient Virginia*, by J. A. BARTLEY." (Richmond: J. W. Randolph, 1855; pp. 204.) We give the following specimen of Mr. Bartley's lyrics:—

"O freedom's home! Thy banner streams,
A meteor on the gale;
And I behold the haughty flags
Of Europe fade and pale;
And, crowding on the surging seas,
They cleave the billows bright;
They come to rest beneath its folds,
Attracted by its light."

From this example our readers can judge tolerably well of Mr. Bartley's poetical capacity.

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(43.) "*Slavery Examined in the Light of the Bible*, by LUTHER LEE." (Syra-cuse: 1855; 18mo., pp. 185.) This book is divided into three sections. The first aims to demonstrate the sinfulness of slavery by moral arguments; the second, to show that slavery finds no justification in the Old Testament; the third, that it finds no refuge in the New. In his zeal for the cause, Mr. Lee adopts several questionable interpretations of Scripture passages. The only safe and tenable ground is, we think, that the *principles* of the Gospel are opposed to slavery. Attempts to show that 1 Cor. vii, 21, and similar passages, do not refer to slaves, as such, must always react against the cause they are meant to support.

(44.) "*Internal Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels*, by ANDREWS NORTON." (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1855; pp. 309.) This work consists of two parts, the first being in substance a critique on Strauss's "Life of Jesus," (pp. 1-189.) The work was left unfinished by the author, but bears throughout the marks of his large erudition and careful mode of thinking. The first chapter gives a general view of Strauss's theory, showing that it is essentially coincident with certain speculations of Volney in the "Ruins of Empires." The third chapter gives a thorough examination of Strauss's fundamental principles of criticism, and shows their entire want of soundness. The peculiar stand-point of Mr. Norton with regard both to orthodox Christianity and to Rationalism, is clearly manifested in his fourth and fifth chapters; in the latter of which he shows that the essential value of Christianity consists in its being a miraculous revelation of God, without which human reason alone could do nothing toward establishing the facts on which religion is founded. His estimate of the value of German Rationalism, in general, may be gathered from the following passage:—

"Every one whose attention has been drawn to the strange and multifarious doctrines that have obtained currency in our day, has heard of the speculations of German philosophers (so called) in theology and metaphysics, and knows something of their pretensions and of the boasts of their admirers. The concluding dissertation of Strauss affords abundant materials for forming a judgment of the character and results of those speculations, which all our further knowledge of them may serve to confirm. In this case, if in any, the old proverb holds true, that it is not necessary to drain the ocean to learn that its waters are salt. The materials for forming a judgment of this philosophy are not furnished by an opposer of it, by an adherent of common sense, nor by a neophyte giving his crude, mistaken imaginations of what he has imperfectly learned, but by one initiated in its mysteries, who is liable to no suspicion of intending to expose them to reproach or derision."

Nevertheless, Mr. Norton's views of the substance of divine revelation and of the character of Christ are so far removed from those of orthodox Christianity, that his writings, valuable as they are, should be studied with great caution, and are not to be recommended to novices in theology.

The second part of the work consists of a treatise, also unfinished, on the *Internal Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels*. The aim of the first chapter is to show the consistency of the Gospel narrative with itself, and with all our knowledge bearing on the subject. The second chapter treats of the

objections commonly brought against the consistency of the narrative; and the third sets forth the strong internal evidence contained in the character of Christ itself. The task of editing the posthumous papers has been executed with great ability.

(45.) "*A Translation of the Gospels, with Notes*, by ANDREWS NORTON." (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1855; 2 vols., 8vo.) This work, like the one just noticed, is posthumous. The translation, however, which occupies the first volume, was completed and revised by the author before his death. Its aim is to "express clearly the meaning of the text, preserving as far as possible the simplicity which characterizes the style of the evangelists." We need not say that the version is made in a careful and scholarly manner throughout; but, as might be supposed, it is tinged occasionally by the author's Unitarian views. These are shown still more strikingly in the "Notes," which make up the second volume of the work. Thus, for instance, in commenting upon John i, 1, Mr. Norton endeavours to show that the word "Logos," as used by the apostle, merely denotes the attributes of God manifested in his works; and that it was John's purpose, in the introduction of his gospel, to declare that Christianity had the same divine origin as the universe itself. The spirit of this note pervades the whole commentary. Apart from this dangerous peculiarity, the work deserves a place in every theological library, and will long remain a monument of the learning and industry of its lamented author. In point of mechanical execution these books are brought out in a style that has never been surpassed, if equalled, by the American press.

(46.) "*Bibliographisch-statistische Uebersicht der Literatur des österreichischen Kaiserstaates. Erster Bericht.* Von DR. C. VON WURZBACH. (Bibliographical-statistical Review of the Literature of the Austrian Empire. First report.) *Fragmente über das Unterrichtswesen in Oestreich.* L. R. VON HEUFLER." (Fragments on the Educational Affairs of Austria.) (Vienna: 1854.) The authors of both these works are subaltern officers in the Austrian state-ministry, and their reports bear, therefore, an official character. The first gives the highly important statistics of Austrian literature from September 1, 1852, to December 31, 1853; the other explains the principles on which the Austrian government proceeded in attempting, after the revolution of 1848, to reorganize the educational department. Both works bear witness to Austria's great inferiority in literature and education to Protestant Prussia.

When the revolution of 1848 awakened Austria from her lethargy, the whole nation became aware of the sad condition of Austrian literature. In the other German universities half of the professors at least were authors of some note; in Austria hardly one among ten. Among the other German gymnasia there were few that could not boast of at least some one illustrious name in literature; the two hundred and sixty-two gymnasia of Austria saw many a year elapse without recording in the annals of literature one of their members. It was confessed that something must be done. An able minister of public

education could have remedied the evil in a short time; for the other German states, especially Prussia, educated a sufficient number of young scholars to supply, in the course of a few years, all Austrian institutes of learning with able teachers. Unfortunately, however, several reasons worked together to induce the Austrian government to enter into a closer union with the Catholic party than had existed before. They wanted aid from abroad, and applied to the least able foreigners, the Romanists. The selection of men like Phillips, Moy, Höfler (formerly from Munich), Aschbach, (from Bonn,) Weiss, (from Friburg,) Tehr, (from Tübingen,) set the intention of the government in a clear light. It must, however, be said that *some* Protestants were called to the Catholic-Austrian universities, because in some departments Romanism has almost no representatives at all in the universities, (ex. gr., in those of classical and oriental languages.)

A great difficulty presented itself in the reorganization of the gymnasia. In the other German states the faculty of the gymnasium had almost full liberty to select the text-books; in Austria they were prescribed, even for the universities. Those heretofore in use were so utterly worthless, that a change in this respect appeared even to the government as unavoidable. It encouraged, therefore, the elaboration of new text-books, and allowed the faculties of the gymnasia a little more liberty in choosing among them. No text-books, however, can be introduced without the authorization of the government. A cloud of new books has since made its appearance, which, however, for the greater part bear witness more of the partiality of the ministry which recommended them, than of the scholarship of their authors. As a specimen of this kind of literature a "Manual of Ancient Geography and History," by Bumiller, is reviewed by the "*Literarische Centralblatt*," of Leipzig, which gathers from it very strange and new discoveries in history; ex. gr., that the Roman consuls and dictators were *chosen by the Senate*, that a lustrum lasted *four* years, &c. As the book is Roman Catholic, of course the apostles Peter and Paul must again die as martyrs in Rome, &c. Such books are recommended because they are Catholic, and are frequently, as also this Manual is, translated into Italian and Hungarian. Of course the German periodicals are indignant that the name of German literature is thus exposed to disgrace among nations who are accustomed to look up to it as to a model.

Bad as this situation is, Austrian literature is growing better than it was before 1848. The number of books has been doubled since 1844. In the space of the sixteen months mentioned above, the number of books allowed to be printed was 6874; of which 2787 were in German, 2723 in Italian, 428 in Hungarian, 659 in Slavonic, 24 in French, 4 in English, 1 in Swedish, 173 in Latin, 7 in Greek, and 14 in Hebrew.

(47.) A THOROUGH work on the "History of the Councils" had long been a desideratum. The manuscripts discovered in late years have been so numerous, the application of a keen criticism to Church history has been so productive, and the insight gained by it into the inner development of the Christian Church is so much more profound than formerly, that none of the older works on this

subject could any longer be considered as sufficient for our times. DR. C. J. HEFELE's (Professor of Roman Catholic Theology at Tübingen) new work, "*Conciliengeschichte*, (History of the Councils: Friburg, 1855,) is, therefore, undoubtedly a very seasonable one. Professor Hefele is one of the few Catholic authors who, instead of disdaining to look at the literary products of learned Protestants, acknowledge their superiority in many respects, and endeavour to reach their profoundness. He is a thorough scholar, whose preceding works (*Patres Apostolici*, *Cardinal Ximenes*,) have won for him a well-deserved reputation among Protestants as well as Romanists. The Protestant literary papers of Germany have, therefore, not hesitated to acknowledge the estimable erudition displayed also in his new work. The first volumes bring the subject up to the end of the fourth century. The whole work will consist of five volumes, four of which are ready for printing.

(48.) ONE of the last survivors of the Romantic School in Germany, JOSEPH FREIHERR VON EICHENDORF, himself a celebrated poet, many of whose poems are, and always will be, among the favourite songs of the German nation, endeavours to show in one of his last works, "*Zur Geschichte des Dramas*," (Contributions to the History of the Drama. Leipzig: 1854,) that the highest development of the drama can take place only in Romanism. At the head of the dramatists he places the Spaniards, (Calderon.) Shakspeare is highly estimated by him, as by all the Romantics, which school he also follows in the ridiculous assertion that Shakspeare's contemplation of life was at bottom the Roman Catholic one. From a man like Eichendorf we can of course expect that, where his partial stand-point does not blind him, he frequently succeeds in giving graphic sketches. It has created a little surprise that Oscar von Redwitz, the young Roman Catholic poet whose "*Amaranth*" went, in a few years, through ten editions, and made quite a "furore," does not meet with his approval.

(49.) ROMANISM in Germany and France has for some time been very productive of works on Christian art. The European Protestants have acknowledged their inferiority in this department, a sincerity which the Catholics are far from imitating with reference to the many sciences where they are not represented at all. Thus two recent works from a strong Roman Catholic stand-point are, notwithstanding their unjust representation of Protestantism, welcomed for their ability in general by the Protestant press. The one, "*Fingerzeige auf dem Gebiete der kirchlichen Kunst*," (Hints in the Province of Ecclesiastical Art,) by A. REISCHENSFELDER, an influential leader of the Catholic party in Prussia, treats of the rules to be observed in building, repairing, and arranging churches and other religious edifices. The other, "*Christliche Symbolik*," (Christian Symbolic,) Regensburg, 1854 and 1855, is by WOLFGANG MENZEL, the well-known author of a "History of Germany" and a work on "German Literature," both of which have also appeared in an English

translation. Menzel is a Protestant, but with Catholic tendencies, which of late seem to have considerably increased. This new work of his promises to explain, in alphabetical order, all Christian emblems contained in the Holy Writ, in dogma and cult, in the legends, in the architecture, sculpture, painting, and poetry of the Church. As Menzel has been for many years the editor of a periodical devoted to art, he is a man of almost unparalleled reading in this department, and cannot fail, therefore, to furnish most ample materials.

(50.) "*Literary and Historical Miscellanies*, by GEORGE BANCROFT." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1855; 8vo., pp. 517.) This volume is made up of essays, review articles, translations, and occasional addresses. The earliest paper bears the date of 1818; the latest is the remarkable address on the "Progress of Mankind," delivered before the New-York Historical Society in 1854; so that the volume presents us the opportunity, rare in literature, of studying the development of an individual mind largely endowed by nature, and enriched by liberal and varied cultivation. It is a little remarkable that, in point of style, there is not much change to note between Mr. Bancroft's earliest printed essays and the last volume of his *History*, unless, indeed, it be a change for the worse. Thus the essay on the "Doctrine of Temperaments," 1824, is freer from rhetorical errors and excesses than any part of the *History* containing the same number of pages. Another remark suggested by this collection is, that while it clearly manifests Mr. Bancroft's aptitude for general literature and criticism, it shows also that his mind received a bent toward history at a very early period, and that his studies, multifarious as they have been, have all been tributary to this one branch, on his success in which his permanent fame is to rest. Of the substantial merit of the volume, we shall indicate our opinion sufficiently by saying that it has largely increased our estimate of Mr. Bancroft's intellectual power. Although we must dissent from many of its political and philosophical views, we yet commend it to our readers as a collection of writings as well worthy of study, both for form and substance, as any that have been produced on American soil.

(51.) "*A Treatise on the Need of the Methodist Episcopal Church with Respect to her Ministry*, by R. S. FOSTER, D. D." (New-York: 1855; 18mo., pp. 62.) Dr. Foster's first proposition is that the "Church needs a thoroughly-educated and liberally-informed ministry;" the second, that she needs "a more spiritual and consecrated ministry." With positions thus stated no one could find fault; but when Dr. Foster comes to set them forth in detail, he gets upon debatable ground. It is to be regretted that Dr. Foster does not accurately define what he means by a thoroughly-educated ministry. If it be his purpose to advocate an absolute requisition of liberal training (say in college and in the Theological Seminary) from all candidates for the ministry, he has failed signally, and

will always fail in accomplishing it. If, on the other hand, he means simply to assert that the Church should furnish the amplest means of culture for such of her young men as may have the opportunity to make use of them, he will find few to dispute with him. But the whole tenor of his argument seems to imply the former doctrine; and, for this reason, the discourse, though abounding in earnest and urgent appeals, which, if put forth simply with a view to stimulate our candidates and younger ministers to more enlarged and liberal studies, would be signally efficacious and useful, will now, we fear, only excite an opposition, to which his broad and often unguarded statements lay him abundantly open. As a specimen of the force of his style, and of the strength with which he sets forth and illustrates his position, we give the following:—

"II. Our second proposition is, Methodism needs a more spiritual and consecrated ministry.

"Vain were learning without spirituality and consecration. No accomplishments can be substituted for these: nothing will answer in their place, or atone for their want. Though we might preach like angels from heaven, we would be but 'sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.' Our polished and literary declamations would fall like moon-beams on glacier mountains, or harmlessly as snow-flakes on the granite. Sharpness of logic, brilliancy of imagination, ornateness of diction, powerful elocution, strength and force of argumentation, with whatever makes up scholastic opulence and faultless discourse, however admired and however needed, alone will be of small value: nay, may be an absolute curse. We want them, but we want them fused; we want them not alone, but in amalgam; not for their splendour as principals, but for their use as instruments. We want them glowing and flaming like the top of Sinai, full of thunders and earthquakes!

"We want prophets of the closet as well as study: men whose hearts glow while their intellects shine: who feel deeply, as well as think profoundly: who experience, as well as theorize: consecrated, as well as ordained: men who walk with God and who are intrusted with his secrets: who go before the Church, and say, 'Follow us as we follow Christ.'

"Such men are they who are the want of the times: men whose hearts and minds quiver with the earnestness of the age, and sympathize with the all-pervading excitement moving the world around them; but who direct all their earnestness, and expend all their excitement, in behalf of souls, and with reference to eternity: who come forth to the people, like Moses from the mount, glowing with inspirations and burning with messages: who, when they speak, cause the people to cover their faces, and say, 'Lo, God hath spoken.'

"A ministry who enjoy religion, and love its ordinances; whose lives, and tempers, and words are unblamable patterns of excellence; whose only ambition is to commend their Master, and transform the world by his exhibition; who live and move among men as ambassadors from heaven, legates of the skies; who love souls, and feel their worth, as the 'travail of the Redeemer;' and who, to save men, count no toil, no effort, no sacrifices too great; who are penetrated with the awfulness of the divine doctrines, and hold and dispense them as a sacred trust for mankind; who feel a burning furnace of love and grace within them, and hear a voice, ever saying unto them, Go, preach! to whom it is a 'woe' if they 'preach not the Gospel;' who weep over the world as their Saviour wept over Jerusalem, and who would die for it, as he did upon Calvary, if they might win it to him; who preach not of envy or strife, or worldly glory, but for a love of souls; not men-pleasers; not careful of their own name; not time-servers; not indolent, or seekers of ease; not mere word-venders or declaimers; not men who mount the pulpit as a profession, or employ it as an engine of ambition; not blusterers or enthusiasts, who give out sound for sense, or vainly expect from inspiration what they should seek

by labour; not empty-hearted and empty-headed pretenders, who run before they are sent to proclaim what they neither feel nor understand; not such—of which the highways and byways are full—but men—men of God—men whose hearts glow with a deathless flame, and whose tongues burn with messages; who stand in their pulpits as watchmen, and thunder in Zion; whose polished and cultivated intellects, full and shining with the truth, skilful and mighty in its exhibition, are moved and impelled by hearts running over with love, and resplendent with holiness; as the prophets, apostles, and the fathers before them; Salem mourns in all her borders, and weeps at all her altars for a ministry like this; and the earth and the world languish for them. How would such a host cause the wilderness to bloom, and the desert to blossom as the rose! How would they carry the truth in triumph through the world, and cover it over with the verdure of a fruitful spring! How would the nations rise up at their coming, and the mountains and the floods sing at their approach! How would infidelity fly before such a ministry, scathed by its lightnings; and error, obduracy, and sin, how would they disappear amid its light, and melt away in its beams! How, under its instruction, and infused with its spirit, would the Church rise up, and shine with the radiance of heaven! How would it penetrate commerce, and impress professions, and affect governments, and send the aliment of a new life through the entire tissues of society! How would it rise above thrones and dynasties, and prejudices stronger and older than these, and rule, and fashion, and sanctify all! Such is its mission and ordination. And what, were the pulpit what it should be, should hinder?

"Is any one about to say, The thing can never be: a ministry of this kind? a ministry so learned, and yet so consecrated; so intellectual, and yet so spiritual; so much culture, and yet so great zeal. Why not? Has history recorded no examples? Have the instances been few of great learning, and yet great devotion? Count up the heroes of the Church, and what do you find? Whence have come the great lights, whose names gleam on the martyrs' page and reformers' roll? Who are they who have braved kings and senates, and who paled not at the stake and wheel? And why not? Is education a foe to religion? Is enlargement of the intellect inimical to devoutness of the heart? Are they who are best capable to understand the truth, and who take in more of its effulgence, less likely to be faithful to it, to love it, and with zeal to propagate it? Surely these things cannot be a necessity. To believe so for a moment would extinguish our lights of hope for the future, and overthrow our faith in the history of the past. The things are not irreconcilable. Light and heat do blend in the same beam; and so wisdom and love animate the same soul, and spread their effulgence and power over the same ministry.

"We must have it: culture and zeal, light and heat, mind and heart! Blended, they will give us power with men and power with God, and we shall prevail. Deprived of them, we shall sink down, down, down in weakness and imbecility, until not a historic vestige will be left of a people who might have been great for God in the earth."—Pp. 54–60.

Dr. Foster thinks vigorously and expresses himself boldly, but not always clearly or accurately; indeed, there are so many verbal and rhetorical errors in the discourse, that we should judge it to have been prepared and carried through the press with undue haste.

(52.) THE opposition to Dr. Foster's views, anticipated above, has speedily shown itself in "*A Defence of the Present Mode of Training Candidates for the Ministry in the Methodist Episcopal Church*, by J. H. PERRY, D. D." (New-York: 1855; 18mo., pp. 71.) The defence takes the form of a review of Dr. Foster's treatise, and criticises it stringently, not only as to its doctrine, but also as to its style. Dr. Perry does not so much dispute Dr. Foster's posi-

tions, as the arguments and statements by which they are supported. The review is very adroitly conducted, and attacks Dr. Foster's vulnerable points with great ingenuity. The following remarks upon the passage from Dr. Foster's sermon quoted above, will give our readers a fair sample of the "Review:"—

"The second proposition of Dr. Foster's Treatise affirms that '*Methodism needs a more spiritual and consecrated ministry.*'

"If by this proposition it is meant simply to declare as a general principle that the efficiency of the Christian ministry is in proportion to its piety, we very cordially concur in the remark; for we are fully satisfied that the aggressive power of the Church consists now, as it has in every age, in its spirituality and purity. But if an impeachment of the piety of our preachers is intended, as might be inferred from his censure of 'men who mount the pulpit as a profession, or employ it as an engine of ambition,' and 'blusterers or enthusiasts, who give out sound for sense, or vainly expect from inspiration what they should seek by labour,' and 'empty-hearted and empty-headed pretenders who run before they are sent, to proclaim what they neither feel nor understand, of which the highways and byways are full,' then we again take issue with Dr. Foster, and protest against his accusation as baseless and visionary.

"We see not well how this inference can be avoided. He is discoursing upon the need of Methodism; and when he speaks of the highways and byways being full of certain classes of preachers, must we not understand that he means the 'highways and byways' of Methodism? How could it affect the argument to affirm that the world is full of this class of persons? Not at all. But if our Church were filled with them, then indeed would the argument be valid and startling. But we deny the premises, and, of course, dispute the conclusion.

"We admit that a Church may possess all the outward forms of devotion while destitute of vital piety. She may boast a learned ministry and a pompous ritual; the bended knee, the rising incense, and the bleeding victim may be at her altars, while her best services are but 'as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal' in the ear of God. Still we cannot yet believe that this is the condition of our Church, or that 'she mourns in all her borders and weeps at all her altars' in consequence of her desolation. We have surely no occasion to sit down by the rivers of Babylon and weep when we remember our Zion. On the contrary, in view of the past and the present, we shall be ungrateful indeed if we do not thank God and take courage; and as we contemplate the veiled future, and reconnoitre the yet unconquered territories of our king, vainly do croakers among us proclaim our weakness and inefficiency, and magnify the strength of our enemies. They may oracularly warn us of the strength of the people who dwell in the land, number their walled cities, and tell us of the gigantic sons of Anak, who dwell there, in whose sight we are but as grasshoppers; but perjured and faithless is that son of Wesley whose heart fails him in this crisis. 'If the Lord delight in us, then he will bring us to this land.' Let us, therefore, be strong and bold, walk by the same rules and mind the same things as the fathers of blessed memory did, and, 'with lives hid with Christ in God,' go forward to victory and to triumph.

"With the exception mentioned, we have no word of censure for the sentiments contained in the brief, but fervent and glowing exhortation which Dr. Foster has given us as the discussion of his second proposition. Its rhetoric and grammar are open to exceptions; but, redeemed by its energy and warmth, we hesitate to place it in the crucible of a rigid criticism."—Pp. 45-48.

We think, however, that in his minute verbal criticism Dr. Perry has somewhat overshot the mark; a general statement on this head might have perhaps accomplished his purpose, and would have left no sting behind. Dr. Perry's own style in this "Defence" is not altogether free from inaccuracies.

(53.) We earnestly call the attention of our readers, and especially of Biblical students, to an edition of the New Testament recently published under the title of "*Novum Testamentum Tetraglotton, edendum curaverunt C. G. G. THEILLE ET R. STIER.*" (Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1855; 8vo., pp. 1060.) It contains the Greek text, the Vulgate, the German version of Luther, and the English translation in parallel columns. With regard to the accuracy of the text, the convenience of the volume as to size and shape, and the clearness of the typography, it is by far the best and most commodious edition of the New Testament which has ever appeared. It forms the fifth volume of the "Polyglotten Bibel," by the same editors, which we have repeatedly noticed during its progress, and which has just been completed. We purpose to give an extended review of the whole work at an early period; but must now mention, for the information of our readers, that besides all its other excellences, the work is a marvel of cheapness. The five volumes can be had in paper covers for \$12, and in strong binding for \$15, of Messrs. Westermann & Co., New-York.

(54.) "*History of the Council of Trent. From the French of L. F. BUNGENER.* Edited from the second London edition, with a summary of the Acts of the Council, by JOHN MCCLINTOCK, D. D." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 546.) The writer of this work is well known as the author of several brilliant books illustrative of the history of Protestantism in France. Two of these have been translated, and published in this country under the titles of "The Priest and the Huguenot," and "The Preacher and the King;" and their wide popularity sufficiently attests their merit as books for the people. M. Bungener has great dramatic power; his personages live and move before the reader; he distinguishes each with something of Homer's individualizing power. This faculty, combined with the power of seizing upon salient facts, and of grouping them into pictures, is one of the essential qualities for a writer of history; and it is precisely that in which most of the historians, especially of the Church, signally fail. Skeletons of history we have in abundance; it is for men of genius, like our author, to reproduce the life. But the present work, in addition to the merits of style which characterize M. Bungener's other works, has peculiar excellences of its own. He has used his sources carefully and conscientiously; few facts of any importance in the acts and doings of Trent are omitted; few are stated out of their proper and living connexions: none we think are distorted for polemical purposes. The intrigues and the chicanery of the popes and their legates on the one hand, and of the princes and their ambassadors on the other, are laid bare in a masterly manner. The reader gets behind the scenes, and sees all the secret machinery by which the puppet bishops were pulled, unwittingly, this way and that; but nothing is set down in malice. M. Bungener shows himself to be also, to a great extent, master of the controversy between Rome and the Church of God. The reader will find that he not merely states the doctrinal decisions of the Council clearly, but that he shows their general inconsistency with the word of God, and even

with the stream of pure tradition. In this respect, the work has a value to which no other history of the Council can lay claim.

In the present state of the Church and the world, few clergymen can afford to be ignorant of the character and the doctrines of the Church of Rome. Nowhere within small compass can this knowledge be so well obtained as from this single volume. It will also make an excellent text-book for the use of theological students, while its graphic and even entertaining style adapts it to the use of intelligent readers of all classes.

(55.) "*Christian Beneficence ; or, the Measure, Manner, Uses, and Misuses of Giving, as prescribed in the New Testament.* By WILLIAM HOSMER." (Auburn: William I. Moses, 1855; 18mo., pp. 219.) Our readers will remember that a prize was offered some time since by the Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for a small volume on systematic beneficence. Mr. Hosmer commenced this work with a view to meet the call of the Tract Society, but soon found, to use his own language, "that he could not satisfy himself and adhere to the plan marked out by those who offered the prize. He was not willing to confine his work to a single feature of the great duty of beneficence, and hence he did not feel at liberty to present his essay for examination; it was not according to the scheme proposed, and he had no right to tax the committee with labour which they were not appointed to do." After a brief introduction, defining very aptly the terms employed, the work is divided into four chapters, of which the first sets forth the Scriptural standard of beneficence. The lines are drawn here very strongly. The second chapter treats of the method of benevolence, the third of its uses, and the fourth of its abuses; and each of these topics is discussed with force and vigour. We trust that this little work will be widely distributed, and will bear ample fruit in the life of the Church.

(56.) "*The History of Napoleon Bonaparte.* By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1855; 2 vols., 8vo.) The mechanical execution of this work leaves nothing to be desired; it is beautifully printed and amply illustrated. We should be glad to use the same unqualified terms of praise with regard to the substance of the work itself; but it is impossible. Mr. Abbott's style is graphic and picturesque. He writes with the ease and fluency of a man inspired by his subject, and the work abounds with brilliant descriptions and striking pictures. The facts of the history are well arranged, and with the construction of the work, considered simply as a narrative, no fault can be found. Mr. Abbott appreciates, far more justly than most of the writers who have written of Napoleon in the English tongue, the true excellences, both moral and intellectual, of that great man, and has amply vindicated his memory from many of the false charges brought against him by previous writers. But he has allowed his enthusiasm so far to prevail over his judgment as to

blind him, to a great extent, to the fearful defects and faults of Napoleon's character, and the book, as a whole, must be pronounced a panegyric rather than a history.

(57.) SYDNEY SMITH abused the Methodists, but that is no reason why Methodists should abuse him. We have read with great amusement and equal instruction "*A Memoir of the Rev. Sydney Smith*, by his daughter, LADY HOLLAND." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1855; 2 vols., 12mo.) Sydney Smith was not only the wittiest but one of the wisest men of his age, and the more we know of him the more we admire his great and noble qualities. His life was devoted to the removal of great abuses, and to the exposure of public vices and crimes at a time when vice was enthroned in high places, and when so many perils environed the path of a reformer as to require, in even the mildest innovator, a large stock of humanity and an equal share of courage. Without the power and prestige which in England usually follow high birth or wealth, he exercised a greater influence over the public mind of his day than any man except, perhaps, Lord Brougham. These volumes put his religious character in a far better light than it has ever appeared in before; and although his Christianity partook of the temper of the time and circle in which he moved, and had therefore far less of the evangelical element than could be desired, it is yet clear that his life was mainly regulated by a strong sense of duty, and that he found peace and comfort in his abiding faith in the great truths of religion.

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